

**THE MOVE TO INDEPENDENCE FROM ANGLICAN
LEADERSHIP: AN EXAMINATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN ALEXANDER ALFRED BODDY AND THE EARLY
LEADERS OF THE BRITISH PENTECOSTAL
DENOMINATIONS (1907-1930)**

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the relationship between the leaders of the Anglican Church, centring on Alexander Alfred Boddy (1854-1930), considered the father of British Pentecostalism, and the young Pentecostals in the process of formation of the three major Pentecostal denominations, namely, the Apostolic Faith Church, the Assemblies of God and the Elim Church. Although there were not many Anglican participants in British Pentecostalism and most Pentecostals came from Nonconformist backgrounds, Boddy dominated the leadership from the beginning. As a result, most of the British Pentecostals who were actively involved in the forming of Pentecostal denominations were either directly or indirectly influenced by him. However, as Pentecostalism grew, disagreement and conflict appeared over certain issues and intensified during the period when the Pentecostal denominations were taking shape. Finally, with the departure of the Anglican leaders from Pentecostalism, the Anglican influence disappeared. Although there is no doubt that Boddy's contribution to the history of British Pentecostalism was considerable, there were huge gaps between his teachings and those of the men who became the denominational leaders of the Pentecostals.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFC	The Apostolic Faith Church
AG	The Assemblies of God in the United States, Canada and Foreign Lands
AOG	The Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland
CSCNWW	Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World in Edinburgh University
DCC	Desmond Cartwright's Collection
DCRO	Durham County Record Office
DGC	Donald Gee Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Research
EEB	The Elim Evangelistic Band
EPA	The Elim Pentecostal Alliance
FPHC	Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center (USA)
PLP	The Pentecostal League of Prayer
PMU	The Pentecostal Missionary Union in Great Britain and Ireland

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Subject of the Thesis

In 2002, a two-day conference on religious revival was held at King's College in London. One group of scholars who took part in the conference tried to define the meaning of revival and to distinguish between revivalism and revival in a biblical way. Another group presented papers on revival movements in the church history and their meaning to the Church in the twenty-first century. A third group endeavoured to interpret new revival movements, such as the Toronto Blessing, and to offer some suggestions for the Church in their day.¹ Whatever the meaning of revival and the suggestions for today's church might be, it is true that revivalism, which includes the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, has been one of the most interesting issues for the Church of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The Pentecostal movement in Britain was led by Alexander Alfred Boddy (1854-1930), the Anglican vicar of All Saints' Church in Sunderland. Boddy is considered the father of British Pentecostalism², one who tried to lead the Pentecostal movement within Anglicanism. However, as time passed, his role in British Pentecostalism declined and finally he was replaced by other Pentecostal leaders who came from different, non-Anglican backgrounds. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the early history of British Pentecostalism from the point of view of the conflict between Alexander Boddy and the other leaders of the British Pentecostal denominations.

¹ The papers read at the conference were published in a book entitled *On Revival: A Critical Examination*, eds. Andrew Walker and Kristin Aune (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003).

² Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM, 1972), 184.

2. Background of the Thesis

A. A. Boddy, vicar of All Saints in Sunderland, played a pivotal role in the forming of British Pentecostalism. He had worked with Evan Roberts (1878-1951) during the Welsh Revival and was deeply impressed by the work of the Holy Spirit.³ In March 1907, Boddy visited T. B. Barratt in Oslo for four days. He was stimulated by his meetings and, mainly by distributing pamphlets at the Keswick Convention, endeavoured to spread Pentecostalism in England.⁴ During May 1907 he also held a meeting at which some people began to speak in tongues⁵ but he did not receive this grace until 2 December.⁶ In response to Boddy's request, Barratt visited Sunderland on 31 August 1907, remaining until 18 October 1907. During this time about seventeen people spoke in tongues and others came very close to receiving their full Pentecost. Many people from all parts of the country - London, Llandrindod, Clifton, Eastbourne, Leith, Lydd, Halifax, Stockport, Brighton, Heathfield, Brixton etc. - flocked to Sunderland to hear Barratt and Boddy speak.⁷

As Blumhofer has summarised,⁸ he exercised his leadership through three agencies: the Sunderland Convention (1908-14); *Confidence* (April 1908-26), at first a monthly magazine; and the Pentecostal Missionary Union in Great Britain and Ireland (hereafter, PMU), which was formed in 1909. It was led by Cecil Polhill (1860-1938), who was influenced by Moody's meeting in London and then went to China in 1885 as one of the 'Cambridge Seven.'⁹ In addition to these three factors, one more key influence, namely

³ Nils Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget; London: Allen & Unwin, 1964), 83; Brynmor Pierce Jones, *The Trial and Triumphs of Mrs. Jessie Penn-Lewis* (North Brunswick: Bridge-Logos, 1997), 183.

⁴ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 83.

⁵ T. B. Barratt, *When the Fire Fell and an Outline of My Life* (Oslo: Alfons Hansen & Sønner, 1927), 146.

⁶ William K. Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), 12.

⁷ Barratt, *When the Fire Fell*, 150.

⁸ Edith Blumhofer, 'Alexander Boddy and the Rise of Pentecostalism in Great Britain,' *Pneuma* 8:1 (Spring 1986), 31-40.

⁹ The Cambridge Seven are Stanley Smith, Montagu Beauchamp, D. E. Hoste, W. W. Cassels, C. T. Studd, Cecil Polhill-Turner and Arthur Polhill-Turner. John C. Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven* (London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1966), 46; John C. Pollock, *A Cambridge Movement* (London: John Murray, 1953),

that of the travelling ministry, should be added. Boddy travelled a great deal, not only in Britain but also to many parts of Europe and even America and Mexico, to preach the Pentecostal blessing. He formed an international leadership in the Pentecostal movement by means of his worldwide travelling ministry. With the introduction of Pentecostalism into England, Boddy faced severe opposition against the movement, in particular opposition from evangelicals such as Reader Harris and Jessie Penn-Lewis (1861-1927). He was the most pivotal figure in the formative periods of British Pentecostalism. However, even though he contributed much to the spread of this movement, he wanted it to be settled within evangelicalism. As a result, he changed the beliefs which he had initially held, to avoid opposition from the evangelical side. Although the pragmatic accommodation with evangelicalism helped Pentecostalism to acquire respectability, some initial beliefs had inevitably to change, such as the status of speaking in tongues, which had been the hallmark for many Pentecostals as well as a driving force for the growth of Pentecostalism.

In addition, his adherence to the Church of England caused dispute with the emerging Pentecostal leaders who had Nonconformist backgrounds; this finally became one of the reasons for his losing the leadership of the Pentecostal movement. The case of John Wesley offers an interesting parallel. Henry D. Rack deems John Wesley a ‘reasonable enthusiast,’ in the phrase of Alexander Knox. He describes Wesley as a paradoxical figure, who remained within the Church of England until his death but constantly violated the church’s order, proclaimed that perfection was possible in this life and urged all good Methodists to look for it, yet never claimed it for himself. He used the most rational logic of Oxford, yet at the same time had a relish for wonders and supernatural stories, which most of his educated contemporaries dismissed as superstition no longer fit for an age of reason.¹⁰ Boddy, a direct descendant of John

83-86.

¹⁰ Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (London: Epworth

Wesley's wife,¹¹ greatly respected his forebear and was proud of him. According to Jane Boddy's memoir, Boddy insisted on calling his first two children Mary Vazeille and Jane Vazeille in order to carry on the Vazeille name, which had been the family name of John Wesley's wife.¹²

Boddy had indeed much in common with Wesley and followed closely in his footsteps. He neither left the Church of England nor renounced the privileges of an upper-middle class Anglican vicar of the Victorian era throughout his life. He was also a paradoxical pioneer of British Pentecostalism. He made contact with Pentecostalism, which was counted as an extremely emotional movement, but he himself was always reasonable. When Boddy visited Norway, he was significantly more impressed by the speaking in tongues than by anything else at the meetings in which he took part.¹³ As a result, he examined the instances of speaking in tongues in the Bible, notably Acts Chapter 2 and 1 Corinthians Chapters 12-14, and introduced his findings in meetings at his vicarage. But he himself spoke in tongues only very occasionally.¹⁴

According to McLeod, the vicar was either the most powerful individual in most villages or second only to the squire, and he wielded no little influence in urban and industrialized areas.¹⁵ Therefore, in the early stages of the Pentecostal movement in Britain, it is to some extent true that Boddy's position as a vicar, a highly respected position at the time, added respectability to the new element of Pentecostalism and gave Boddy a leading role in the movement. However, as the movement grew, Boddy could

Press: 1992), 6.

¹¹ Jane Vazeille Boddy (Mother Joann Mary C.R.), 'Alexander Alfred Boddy (1854-1930)' (Grahamstown: Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord, n.d.), 1; Gavin Wakefield, *The First Pentecostal Anglican: The Life and Legacy of Alexander Boddy* (Cambridge: Grove Books Limited, 2001), 24.

¹² Jane Boddy, 'Alexander Alfred Boddy,' 2.

¹³ A. A. Boddy, 'Tongues in Sunderland,' *Leaflets on "Tongues" No.9* (Sunderland: n.d.), 1-4.

¹⁴ Jane Boddy, 'Alexander Alfred Boddy,' 6.

¹⁵ Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1996), 14.

no longer represent the majority of Pentecostals. The Church of England was considerably stronger in the South of England than in the North, in rural more than urban areas, and among the upper class more than the working class.¹⁶ Hence, Boddy, as a representative of the upper class who ministered in Newcastle and Sunderland, industrialised areas of the North of England, finally clashed with other Pentecostal leaders, whose roots were outside the Church of England and in the working class such as Smith Wigglesworth (a plumber from Bradford), George Jeffreys and Stephen Jeffreys (a miner from Nantyffyllon).¹⁷

From a theological point of view, Boddy contributed to forming the characteristics of British Pentecostalism from its beginning. He was a decision-making figure whenever doctrinal disputes arose, such as the status of speaking in tongues and prophecy. On the one hand, he tried to frame the Pentecostal theology within evangelicalism, but on the other hand he warned the excessive groups within the Pentecostal movement. In the development of the movement, there was conflict between Boddy and other Pentecostal leaders who thought that the Pentecostal movement had lost its initial belief.

Hollenweger lays stress on the need for the writing of Pentecostal histories based on the whole movement in certain countries, not only on specific denominations; as he remarks.

I expect a newer generation of Pentecostal scholars to produce monographs not just on their own Pentecostal denomination but on the whole of Pentecostalism in their respective countries. Once this work is done, we can take stock, look at the whole picture, and try to define what it is we are looking at.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ibid., 20.

¹⁷ Colin C. Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1985), 19, 45.

¹⁸ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origin and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005), 328-329.

In order to map the whole story of the development of British Pentecostalism, it is necessary to re-tell the story of the early history of the British movement, centring on Alexander A. Boddy. Because Boddy influenced, either directly or indirectly, most of the leaders of British Pentecostalism and later disputed with other Pentecostals, he appears to be crucial to mapping the whole development of British Pentecostalism.

3. Previous Studies

The work on the early history of British Pentecostalism falls into the following categories. First, Boddy figures in the work of scholars of Pentecostalism in Britain, who tend to mention his name as part of the historical background, but deal briefly with him, mostly in connection with American-initiated Pentecostalism through T. B. Barratt, its mediator in Oslo. However, as Anderson points out, the writing of Pentecostal history has laid too much emphasis on America-initiated theory¹⁹ and ignored (or oversimplified) the vital role of figures from other countries at the beginning of the Pentecostal movement.²⁰ What is more, even though European scholars touch on the role of Boddy in British Pentecostalism they still overlook his British background. For instance, Nil Bloch-Hoell, who is a Scandinavian scholar and gives quite a few pages of his book, *The Pentecostal Movement*, to European Pentecostalism, still tends to discount many background features which contributed to Boddy's thinking. He tries to make a

¹⁹ Even more, as far as the origin of Pentecostalism are concerned, there have been several disputes. First, some Church of God historians contend that it was started in the 1890s when R. G. Spurling, a Baptist preacher, and his son led a 'holiness revival.' However, Bloch-Hoell disputes this, since, even though there were manifestations of speaking with tongues, they were thought to be not the sign of the Spirit's baptism but evidence of sanctification. Even A. J. Tomlinson, who was a leader of the Holiness Church, which succeeded this revival, started to preach of speaking with tongues as initial evidence of the Spirit's baptism from January 1907, after he made contact with G. B. Cashwell, who was a Spirit-baptised convert from Azusa Street. Second, others maintain that Pentecostalism began in January 1901 when Miss Ozman began to speak in tongues. This opinion has received wide support, including that of Bloch-Hoell. For their part, Cox and Hollenweger are convinced that the movement began in Los Angeles in 1906 under the leadership of William Seymour. See Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 18, 191-192; Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), 167-168; Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 20-24; Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001), 149.

²⁰ Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 166-176.

connection between a local revival movement from the USA and the worldwide expansion of Pentecostalism. Even though it cannot be denied that the Pentecostal movement from America considerably influenced European Pentecostalism, it should not be forgotten that Boddy was an English person whose educational, social and religious background was British. Donald Gee, the former principal of the Assemblies of God Bible College and probably one of the most distinctive historians of British Pentecostalism, outlines the development of Pentecostalism in the British Isles from its beginnings. His book *The Pentecostal Movement* was reprinted under the name of *Wind and Flame* in 1967; it is a general history of Pentecostalism and does not focus on Boddy and other early Pentecostals.

Second, some scholars briefly mention the work done and contribution made by Boddy in connection with the process of growth of the Pentecostal denominations in Britain. The theses of David Allen, Richard Massey and William K. Kay, a historian of the Assemblies of God, belong to this category. Kay examines the phenomenon in his two books, *Pentecostals in Britain* and *Inside Story*. While the former focuses on present issues, such as the Spiritual gifts, ethical issues, church growth and so on,²¹ the latter is a history of the Assemblies of God, ignoring other denominations.²² Richard Massey's thesis also uses a similar direction to Kay's, pursuing the chronological order.²³ While Massey seeks to outline the formation of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland (hereafter, AOG) in the early nineteen-twenties, Allen and Kay deal with a wider periods than Massey.²⁴ Their theses cover the history of the AOG until the

²¹ Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain*.

²² William K. Kay, *Inside story* (Mattersey, England: Mattersey Hall Publishing, 1990).

²³ Richard Dan Massey, "Sound and Scriptural Union' An Examination of the Origins of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland during the Years 1920-1925' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1987).

²⁴ David Allen, 'Sign and Wonders: The Origin, Growth, Development and Significance of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland 1900-1980' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1990); William K. Kay, 'A History of the British Assemblies of God' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1989).

nineteen-eighties. Neil Hudson also briefly touches on Boddy in his background to the Elim church when he analyses the reasons for the secession of George Jeffreys from it in the nineteen-thirties.²⁵

Third, there are biographical studies. Martin Robinson compares two Anglicans, A. A. Boddy and Michael C. Harper, in his dissertation 'The Anglican-Historical Contemporary: A Comparison of the Life and Work of Alexander Boddy (1854-1930) and Michael C. Harper.' He reconstructs the whole story of the early days of British Pentecostalism. In particular, he studies the relationship between Boddy's ecumenism and the charismatic movement in the United Kingdom. Even though he examines the reasons for Boddy's failure, he is inclined to think of Boddy as an ecumenical pioneer, whose ecumenical hope was taken over by Harper.²⁶ More recently, Wakefield also published a biography of Boddy. The significant contribution of this book is that it reveals Boddy's work before his involvement in Pentecostalism in detail. Boddy's early life, travelling, the parish ministries before the Pentecostal movement started, are thoroughly researched in this book. However, his account of Boddy's work in relation to Pentecostalism mostly relies on *Confidence* and does not compare the theology of Boddy regarding Pentecostalism with that of the Pentecostal denominations.²⁷

Fourth, Taylor made a case study of some Pentecostal publications. In the second part of his thesis, he analyses the theology of *Confidence*, in contrast to other works which take an historical perspectives. This is not a comparative study, so a comparison between the theology of Boddy and the Pentecostal denomination is outside its scope.²⁸

²⁵ David Neil Hudson, 'A Schism and Its Aftermath: An Historical Analysis of Denominational Disruption in the Elim Pentecostal Church, 1939-1940,' (Ph.D. Thesis, King's College, London, 1999).

²⁶ Martin Robinson, 'The Charismatic Anglican – History and Contemporary – A Comparison of the Life and Work of Alexander Boddy (1854-1930) and Michael C. Harper' (M. Litt. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1976).

²⁷ Gavin Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy, Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer* (London: Paternoster, 2007).

²⁸ Malcolm John Taylor, 'Publish and Be Blessed: A Case Study in the Early Pentecostal Publishing History 1906-1926' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1994).

Lastly, there are articles on Alexander Boddy. With regard to his ecumenism, Hollenweger briefly touches on it in his book, *Pentecostalism*, but he gives two reasons only for its failure, without any detailed explanation of its processes or why it should have failed.²⁹ Blumhofer, in her article ‘Alexander Boddy and the Rise of Pentecostalism in Great Britain,’ examines Boddy and British Pentecostalism and also compares them with Parham and American Pentecostalism. Her article takes a complimentary view of Boddy, but not of Parham and American Pentecostalism.³⁰

Other writers such as Anderson and Harper simply mentioned Boddy and British Pentecostalism in a descriptive way.³¹

4. Problem Statement

Hence, the previous studies present on the whole three problems. First, as seen above, most previous studies have focused on the connection between British Pentecostalism and the classical Pentecostalism centred on the Azusa Street mission in order to present Pentecostalism as a worldwide movement. However, the distinctiveness of British Pentecostalism should not be ignored. The accommodation of the Pentecostal movement, which originated from the USA, within Anglican evangelicalism by the leadership of Boddy shaped the nature of British Pentecostalism.

Second, even though Boddy has a significant position in Pentecostal history in the British Isles, little work has been done on him. Although Wakefield’s biography gives us more information on Boddy, it is still insufficient to evaluate his role and contribution and therefore, further research, using not only *Confidence* but also various primary sources, is needed in order to reflect the voices of the other early Pentecostals.

²⁹ Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 343-345.

³⁰ Blumhofer, ‘Alexander Boddy and the Rise of Pentecostalism in Great Britain.’

³¹ Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 91-92; Harper, *As at the Beginning* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965).

Third, most of the earlier studies on the history of British Pentecostalism were written to describe the formation of the Pentecostal denominations, using the diachronic-historical approach. Although the works of Kay, Allen, Massey and Hudson provide useful information on the history of the Pentecostal denominations, the inclination towards their own denominations in writing a Pentecostal history hinders the reader from understanding the development of British Pentecostalism as a whole. As Boddy was a central figure who dominated the Pentecostal movement in Britain, the other crucial figures of the Pentecostal denominations are connected with him in many ways. As mentioned above, most works have merely included him in a historical review of British Pentecostalism; therefore some comprehensive research of a critical and analytical kind is needed. In this regard, the present thesis seeks to explain the process of conflict with and independence from the Anglican leadership. Understanding this helps the reader to understand the reason for the formation of the Pentecostal denominations. In addition, some works on Boddy have been written from the particular standpoint of the religious denomination to which the writer belonged. For example, Donald Gee, an early Pentecostal leader who belonged to the AOG, describes the expansion of Pentecostalism in the British Isles from his own denomination's point of view, generally ignoring other Pentecostal groups such as the Apostolic Faith Church (hereafter, AFC).³² This study seeks to eliminate the denominational bias in the writing of a Pentecostal history.

5. Research Questions

Even though Hollenweger merely touched on British Pentecostalism, he characterises Boddy as an ecumenical pioneer of early Pentecostalism in Britain.³³ However, as Barratt wrote, 'it was impossible at that time to be a Pentecostal believer and at the same time remain a member of another denomination'³⁴; as a result, many early

³² Donald Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement* (London: Elim Publishing Co., Ltd., 1949).

³³ Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 343-344.

³⁴ Harper, *As at the Beginning*, 34.

Pentecostals had to leave their own denominations if they continued to practise Pentecostal manifestations such as speaking in tongues and prophecy. Yet, Boddy did not separate from his own church, the Church of England.

My research questions are as follows: first, can we say that Boddy was a classical Pentecostal or was the ecumenical harbinger whom Harper extols as a prophet?³⁵ Second, there was discord and dispute on certain issues between the Anglican leaders and other Pentecostals, and Boddy did not join any Pentecostal denominations when they took shape. What were the main causes of conflict between them? If there was a theological shift in Boddy's thought, what was the difference between Boddy and the other Pentecostals? Third, the uniqueness of British Pentecostalism is the introduction of Pentecostalism under Anglican leadership, as Hollenweger claims.³⁶ There is no doubt that Boddy's influence on the forming of British Pentecostalism was considerable from the beginning. However, the Pentecostals in Britain confronted a vacuum of leadership after WW1. How did the British Pentecostals fill this vacuum after Boddy's withdrawal from the Pentecostal movement?

In order to answer these questions, it is crucial to investigate, using primary sources which have never been used in previous work, the discord and theological differences between Boddy and the denominational leaders. For one thing, these previous works are insufficient to explain these points. It must be stated at the outset that this research is not an attempt to devalue the role of Boddy in the forming of British Pentecostalism from the perspective of classical Pentecostalism; it is an attempt to show how easy it is for a mixed revivalism to lose its vigour in seeking something more sustainable and to show that this was one of main reasons for his withdrawal from leadership later.

³⁵ Ibid., 41.

³⁶ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 176-187.

6. Materials and Methodology

6.1. Problem of Biased Interpretations

In the writing of histories, there are two underlying problems, namely the writer's own limitations and the reliability of his/her sources. First of all, the writing of a history is a project which the writer's own background can easily bias. We find such problems in the writings of British Pentecostalism. Most historical documents on Boddy and the Pentecostalism in the British Isles are by writers who belong to a British Pentecostal denomination, such as the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland. As Anderson points out, some of their histories add the biases of denomination and race and most of the earlier ones tended to be hagiographies³⁷; hence, many historical writings on British Pentecostalism have suffered from denominationally biased views and interpretations. For example, *The Pentecostal Movement*, a distinctive contribution by the famous writer Donald Gee, which describes how Pentecostalism developed in the British Isles, contains some degree of bias towards the Assemblies of God in its interpretations, in particular in describing the AFC, which was founded after the first divisions within the Pentecostal Movement.³⁸

Another problem in the writing of a history is the extent to which we can trust the source materials. Special care should be taken in using data, reports and other materials because they are often exaggerated and filled with the reporter's own prejudices, frequently ignoring minority opinions. Sometimes, it is necessary to read between the lines and draw the significant from the insignificant to present the truth of events. In this respect, we need to compare, verify and synthesise the research materials being used.

³⁷ Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 166.

³⁸ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 73-75.

In my study, even though *Confidence* will provide the main materials to be examined, I will investigate other sources, including the minutes of the early Pentecostal meetings, letters, diaries, tracts, handbills and newspapers, to discover minority voices and those of other participants and to read between the lines.

6.2. Research Materials

The following materials to aid multi-angled research are used in this study. First come materials related to Boddy himself. As he died more than seventy years ago, it is difficult to use direct research methods such as interviews and questionnaires. However, he was a prolific writer. A good many primary sources have been preserved in the Donald Gee Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Research (hereafter, DGC) and some of the early works written by Boddy, such as geographical books, are to be found in the British Library. In addition, there are some fragmentary sources, which help to investigate British Pentecostalism at the grassroots. Letters between the Bishop of Durham and Boddy; letters between Boddy and Jessie Penn Lewis, who corresponded with Boddy several times in the initial stages of the Pentecostal movement; leaflets prepared and distributed by Boddy himself; Jane Vazeille Boddy's memoir; some newspapers, such as the *Sunderland Daily Echo*, *The Newcastle Daily Journal* and *The Christain*, and denominational minutes, etc. were extensively examined. Among these *Confidence* must be the most important material available for research into the whole story of British Pentecostalism, because much of it was written and all was edited by Boddy himself.

Second, some new materials have been used to investigate the growth of the British Pentecostal denominations and to reveal the reasons for the discord between Boddy and the denominational leaders. Letters of the early Pentecostal leaders, including Alexander Boddy, Cecil Polhill, Thomas Myerscough, T. H. Mundell. Donald Gee and Howard

Carter enable me to probe the discord and friction between the Pentecostal leaders. I was able to read these letters by the kind help of Dr. David Garrard, the archivist of the DGC, and Rev. Desmond Cartwright, the official historian of the Elim church.

Third, denominational magazines were also widely researched. *Showers of Blessings*, the denominational magazine of the AFC, has been preserved in the British Library and the earliest magazines have been kept in the DGC. However, the digitalised version in a CD ROM by the Revival Library helped me save much precious time in cross-checking the works of the pivotal figures and events in their lives. By its help, I was able for this thesis to thoroughly cross-check *Redemption Tidings* (1924-1939), the AOG Magazine, *The Elim Evangel* (1919-1934) and *Flames of Fire* (1911- 1917) which was published by Cecil Polhill to report missionary work in foreign fields.

Fourth, in order to analyse the influence of American Pentecostalism in the formation of British Pentecostalism, I researched various magazines related to Pentecostalism in the USA, which are kept by the Flower Heritage Center. These include *The Latter Rain Evangel* (1909-1939), which contains Boddy's itinerary in the USA. *Word and Work* (1899-1940), *The Pentecostal Evangel* (1913-1969), *The Pentecost* (1908-1910) and *Leaves of Healing* (1894-1906) edited by Alexander Dowie. The excellent research system through its web site was extremely useful and I am much indebted to the Center for their postal supply.

The fifth category is historical accounts which were written by the early Pentecostals who witnessed Boddy and his Pentecostal work or took part in the early Pentecostal conventions. Donald Gee (1891-1966), who was a very productive writer on Pentecostalism, illustrates the development of Pentecostalism in the British Isles in *The Pentecostal Movement*, and also gives a personal memoir of some Pentecostal pioneers

in *These Men I Knew*. Both yield valuable information for the thesis about the formation and development of the Pentecostal movement in the British Isles. Several biographical (or autobiographical) works on the pivotal figures are also useful materials. They help us to understand the British Pentecostalism in depth, although some of their subjects were not directly involved in its formation. *Incredible*,³⁹ the autobiography of Parr, the initiator of the AOG, and some biographies such as *Frederick Watson, A Beloved Pastor*,⁴⁰ *Donald Gee: Pentecostal Statesman*,⁴¹ *The Great Evangelists*,⁴² *Howard Carter - Man of the Spirit*,⁴³ *Stephen Jeffreys: The Beloved Evangelist*,⁴⁴ *A Full Life: The Autobiography of a Pentecostal Pioneer*⁴⁵ and *George Jeffreys: A Ministry of the Miraculous*⁴⁶ belong to this category.

6.3. Research Methodology

The present research will follow a historical methodology. I will investigate British Pentecostalism by a diachronic-historical method, which follows events in sequence from the forming of Boddy's thought and the influx of Pentecostalism. However, even so, I will divide Boddy's revivalism into five periods, rather than describing it in every particular on a monthly or annual basis. To be more precise, I will look at the formative period of British Pentecostalism (1854-March, 1907); the latent period of division (March, 1907-1908); the first division with British Pentecostalism focused on the

³⁹ John Nelson Parr, *"Incredible" Autobiography of John Nelson Parr* (Fleetwood, UK: Privately Published, 1972).

⁴⁰ W. Hacking, *Frederick Watson, A Beloved Pastor* (Preston, UK: R. Seed and Sons, Printers, 1953).

⁴¹ John Carter, *Donald Gee: Pentecostal Statesman* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1975).

⁴² Desmond Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists: The Remarkable Lives of George and Stephen Jeffreys* (Hants, UK: Marshall Morgan and Scott Publications Ltd., 1986).

⁴³ John Carter, *Howard Carter - Man of the Spirit* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1971).

⁴⁴ Edward Jeffreys, *Stephen Jeffreys: The Beloved Evangelist* (London: Elim Publishing Company, 1946).

⁴⁵ John Carter, *A Full Life: The Autobiography of a Pentecostal Pioneer* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1979).

⁴⁶ Ernest C. W. Boulton, *George Jeffreys: A Ministry of the Miraculous* (London: Elim Publishing Office, 1928).

formation of the AFC (1908-1913); the period of intensifying division (1914-1918); and the periods of the final division (1918-1925).

In addition, it is necessary to assess the theological differences between Boddy and the Pentecostal denominations, so this study will also use a comparative method. I will compare the theological stance between Boddy and the Pentecostal denominations in Britain in order to analyse the whole process of the separation of Pentecostalism from the Anglican leadership, and to support my argument that the decline of Boddy's leadership was mainly due to the theological dissimilarity between him and the denominational leaders. It is important to compare the theological differences between Boddy and the leaders of Pentecostal denominations in order to investigate the main reason for Boddy's separation from the Pentecostal denomination. In particular, I will in Chapter Seven examine Boddy's theological shift, which was finally disapproved by the majority of Pentecostal leaders. In this part, a synchronic analysis will be introduced.

7. Contribution of the Thesis

The contributions made by my thesis will be as follows. To begin with, my study will be the first study to investigate British Pentecostalism from the perspective of the conflict between the Anglican Pentecostals, focusing on Alexander Boddy, and the Pentecostals from Nonconformist denominations, although some work has been done on Alexander Boddy and the Pentecostal denominations in Britain. Hollenweger points out that 'a blending of aristocratic Anglicanism and Welsh revival' is a significant characteristic in the origin of British Pentecostalism.⁴⁷ When the Pentecostal movement settled in Britain under Anglican leadership, there were some traces of discord between the Anglican Pentecostals and the Pentecostals from the Nonconformist churches, but they did not come to the surface because of the dominant position of the Anglicans.

⁴⁷ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 176-185.

However, as the movement grew, it was impossible for the Anglicans to control all the assemblies and the new leaders raised objections to the Anglicans' decisions. It is indispensable for those who want to study the process of the division and development of the British Pentecostalism to study the discord between the Pentecostal leaders, so it is hoped that this thesis may help them to widen their historical and theological understanding of early British Pentecostalism.

Second, there are two major problems in writing the history of British Pentecostalism. Although from its formative period it was influenced by both the British context and the nature of Classical Pentecostalism as initiated in America, most studies up to the present have focused on either its American origin, ignoring (or oversimplifying) many factors which affected the forming of British Pentecostalism, or the British context it self as a significant factor. While American scholars such as Cox,⁴⁸ Synan⁴⁹ and Dayton⁵⁰ very much emphasise the theory that the movement was America-inspired - they examine British Pentecostalism as part of the worldwide expansion from its beginnings in Azusa Street - European scholars, including Hollenweger,⁵¹ Anderson⁵² and Kay⁵³ seek to trace it in its British context, stressing the importance of the Welsh Revival.

I try to integrate both opinions. British Pentecostalism preserved its peculiar character during the periods of the Anglican-dominant leadership, despite the influence of the American tongues movement. However, the American influence on British Pentecostalism was reinforced when the British Pentecostal denominations were formed, although many British Pentecostals do not want to acknowledge American

⁴⁸ Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 69.

⁴⁹ Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition* (Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing, 1997).

⁵⁰ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological roots of Pentecostalism* (New Jersey: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000).

⁵¹ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 176-217.

⁵² Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 35-36, 91-96. Important contribution made by Anderson in the writing of a Pentecostal history is to diversity birth places of global Pentecostalism.

⁵³ Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain*, 8-13.

influence on this process. If it can be said that the settlement of Pentecostalism on Anglican soil was a striking feature of British Pentecostalism, it is still evident that the British Pentecostal denominations directly accommodated some doctrines from American Pentecostal leaders during the vacuum of leadership. These doctrines have had a significant role in binding many scattered assemblies.

In addition, this thesis provides suggestions on the relationship between a leader of a revival movement and the society to which the leader belongs. I argue that it is requisite that a leader of a revival movement should be always a representative of the majority of the followers of the movement, if his or her leadership is to be maintained. Otherwise, the claim to leadership collapses.

8. Definition of Key Terms

8.1. Evangelicalism

Mark Noll gives a brief history of the usage of the word ‘evangelicals.’ According to him, the word evangelical came from *euangelion* which had been used in various cases such as to denote the message about Jesus Christ and his work of redemption, or the Protestant in contrast to the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century.⁵⁴ However, it is difficult to define what evangelicalism is in a simple sentence; Martin Wellings, in his study of Anglican evangelicalism, points out that there had been uncertainty about what evangelicalism is and ‘the evangelical renaissance of the second half of the twentieth century has been a burgeoning of the definitions of evangelicalism.’ He goes on to introduce some definitions which include the involvement in any kind of evangelical institution and its distinctive characteristics.⁵⁵ Although many attempts have been made

⁵⁴ Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism* (Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 15-17.

⁵⁵ Martin Wellings, *Evangelicals Embattled* (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2003), 4.

to define evangelicalism,⁵⁶ the most convincing and influential definition is that of David Bebbington. He investigates the common core of evangelical belief and characterised evangelicalism by four crucial factors, as follows:

Conversionism, the belief that lives need to be changed; activism, the expression of the gospel in effort; biblicism, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called crucicentrism, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism.⁵⁷

Pentecostalism appeared in the evangelical setting and the strong influence of evangelicalism on the birth of Pentecostalism can be observed in the early history of British Pentecostalism. First, British Pentecostals often stressed the evangelical tradition as the soil in which their belief was firmly rooted. As Bebbington locates Pentecostalism within evangelicalism,⁵⁸ the early Pentecostals often claimed their inheritance of evangelical beliefs. For example, Max Moorwood, a Presbyterian missionary in India, gladly reported to Boddy that ‘Pentecost with tongues has re-appeared in the Evangelical section of the Church of England in Bombay.’⁵⁹ Similarly, Hutchinson, the founder of the AFC, the first Pentecostal denomination in Britain, also declared that his church stood on the evangelical tradition, rejecting sectarianism.⁶⁰

Second, the characteristics of evangelicalism suggested by Bebbington were clearly marked in the Pentecostal writings. *Confidence*, the first Pentecostal magazine in Britain, always asserts the infallibility of the Bible as the norm in the life of the saints.

⁵⁶ Ryle characterises evangelicalism as follows. First, absolute supremacy of the Bible. Second, total depravity of humanity. Third, significance of the redemptional work of Jesus. Fourth, indwelling work of the Holy Spirit. Fifth, outward manifestation of the work of the Holy Spirit. John Charles Ryle, *Knots Untied* (London: Chas. J. Thynne, 1900), 3-8.

⁵⁷ D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1993), 2-3.

⁵⁸ Bebbington designates Pentecostalism as ‘heightened spirituality.’ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 195-198.

⁵⁹ *Confidence* No.9 (15 December 1908), 20.

⁶⁰ *Showers of Blessing* No.1 (January 1910), 5.

The cross and the atonement of Jesus are part of the central message in relation to salvation. The Pentecostals believed that preaching the gospel was the great commission of Jesus and it must be preached all over the world in order to quicken the return of Jesus. The formation of the PMU was part of their effort to evangelise the heathen. I accept Bebbington's definition of evangelicalism in this thesis.

8.2. Pentecostalism as a Revivalism

Piggin defines that 'revival is a sovereign work of God the Father, consisting of a powerful intensification by Jesus of the Holy Spirit's normal activity of testifying the Saviour, accentuating the doctrines of grace, and convicting, converting, regenerating, sanctifying, empowering large numbers of people at the same time, and is therefore a community experience.'⁶¹ By contrast, he asserts that revivalism is 'a human technology for producing revival' and 'defective because it does not give the Lord the honour that is due to him.'⁶² Nigel Wright also defines revival as 'where there is a free work of God among human beings that comes as [a] divine gift, although it may be prepared for in prayer and the search for God... revivalism is the attempt to reproduce through human methodology what is essentially a response to [the] divine gift.' He goes on to say that 'revival quickens, while revivalism deadens. The crucial, and apparently difficult, distinction between the two concerns is that between serving the free work of God and manipulating phenomena by the force of human personality and suggestibility.'⁶³ Although there is no agreed definition of what revival and revivalism are, it seems that revival is always defined in relation to God's sovereignty but, in contrast, revivalism is connected with human efforts, in a negative sense. However, the important point is that it is difficult to judge what revival is and what revivalism for the

⁶¹ Stuart Piggin, *Firestorm of the Lord: The History of and Prospects for Revival in the Church and the World* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), 11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1, 81.

⁶³ Nigel Wright, 'Does Revival Quicken or Deadens the Church?: A Comparison of the 1904 Welsh Revival and John Wimber in the 1980s and 1990s,' Andrew Walker and Kristin Aune (eds.), *On Revival A Critical Examination*, 127-128.

following reasons. First, human efforts always followed all revivals, although most people think that some revivals are entirely the work of God. No revival is free from human efforts. Rather, it is necessary to apply and organise them. Second, a matter of interpretation. Most revivals have had both their supporters and opponents because of different interpretations of them. Revival movements have often been understood differently by those who judge the soundness of a revival according to their theological stance on the basis of their theological training and education. While supporters of a revival movement consider that it is a pure work of God, its opponents denounce it, believing that it is not from God but from human efforts or the Devil. These different interpretations are often observed, whatever the form of the revival, including the Welsh Revival and the Pentecostal movement, as will be seen in the following chapters.

Although there must be a difference between revivalism and Pentecostalism, it is not wrong to say that the Pentecostal movement can be located as a kind of revival movement. The Pentecostals always understood that their movement was one of revival. For example, A. A. Boddy and T. B. Barratt wrote a series of articles about the global expansion of Pentecostalism for *The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times* under the title of 'World-Wide Revival.'⁶⁴ Pandita Ramabai of Mukti also regarded the Pentecostal movement in India as the Indian revival, which was God's answer to prolonged prayers.⁶⁵ In this thesis, I include Pentecostalism as an aspect of revivalism.

Though Pentecostalism shared the general characteristics of revivalism, and can be understood as a revival movement, it also has its own distinct features and many Pentecostals have tried to define what Pentecostalism is. Hollenweger defines Pentecostals as 'all the groups who profess at least two religious crisis experiences, (1)

⁶⁴ *The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times* (24 October 1907), 387; (31 October 1907), 411; (12 December 1907), 555.

⁶⁵ *The Christian* (7 March 1907), 11.

baptism or rebirth and (2) the baptism of the Spirit, the second being subsequent to and different from the first one, and the second usually, but not always, being associated with speaking in tongues.’⁶⁶ However, it became difficult to define what Pentecostalism is and who the Pentecostals are because of the rapid growth of Pentecostalism, not only in the Pentecostal denominations but also in existing churches which have accepted the Pentecostal practice. In order to include in the category of Pentecostals the three types of church, namely, the Pentecostal churches, the Charismatic churches and the independent churches which also cherish the Pentecostal practices, Anderson defines ‘Pentecostals’ as ‘globally all churches and movements that emphasise the working of the gifts of the Spirit, both on phenomenological and on theological grounds.’⁶⁷ Here, speaking in tongues is not the crucial factor to define the Pentecostals but one of their various characteristics. However, as Frederick Dale Bruner points out, the distinctive doctrine of Pentecostalism is the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues. He characterises Pentecostalism as follows:

The most important characteristics of the Pentecostal understanding of the baptism of the Holy Spirit ... are: that the event is usually “distinct from and subsequent to” new birth; (2) that it is evidenced initially by the sign of speaking in other tongues; and (3) that it must be “earnestly” sought.⁶⁸

On the one hand, the above understanding was the hallmark of the early Pentecostals; on the other hand, it has been the main target for attack by the opponents of Pentecostalism.⁶⁹ The Pentecostal movement was indeed often called the tongues movement because the Pentecostals emphasised the need for speaking in tongues as the

⁶⁶ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, xix.

⁶⁷ Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 10, 13.

⁶⁸ Frederick Dale Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1971), 61.

⁶⁹ One of notorious opponents on the Pentecostal claims of ‘subsequence’ is James D. G. Dunn. James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (London: SCM Press, 1979). See also, Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 192-195.

sign of God's revitalisation of the churches. In this thesis the term the tongues movement is also used to refer to the Pentecostal movement.

8.3. Anglicanism

Stephen Neill in his popular book, *Anglicanism*, stresses that 'there are no special Anglican theological doctrines, there is no particular Anglican theology.'⁷⁰ Because of the vagueness of Anglican theology, Paul Avis points out that to define Anglicanism or Anglican is 'a nose of wax'; it can be differently defined according to the purpose of one's interpretations.⁷¹ Although it is not easy to define what Anglicanism is, it has close connections with the see of Canterbury communion, as *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* defines it:

This word [Anglicanism] properly applies to the system of doctrine and practice upheld by those Christians who are in religious communion with the see of Canterbury. But, it is esp. used, in a somewhat more restricted sense, of that system in so far as it emphasizes its claim to possess a religious outlook distinguishable from that of other Christian communions both Catholic and Protestant.⁷²

The term 'Anglican' is used to denote the Church of England as the established church in England. The Church of England has the distinction of its establishment, for, as Furlong asserts, 'no one can write about the Church of England without brooding upon Establishment. It is impossible to ignore the fact that the Church is well-connected, its top echelons mixing at the highest level of society - the monarchy and government - and having a debating right in the House of the Lords.'⁷³

⁷⁰ Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), 417.

⁷¹ Paul Avis, 'What is 'Anglicanism?'' Stephen Sykes and John Booty (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism* (London: SPCK, 1988), 406.

⁷² F. C. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 65.

⁷³ Monica Furlong, *C of E, The State It's In* (London, Sydney and Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 2000), 8.

8.4. The Tension between Old and New

Noll claims that ‘modern-day Pentecostals must be considered parts of the broader evangelical family’ because they inherited the teaching of some important figures such as John and Charles Wesley. Although there is no doubt that Pentecostalism has had common shared beliefs with evangelicalism, there is also discontinuity for the following reasons. First, the Pentecostals considered that they had a definite experience which the existing churches did not have. This belief led them to disconnect with the mainstream churches. Simon Chan indicates their difficulty:

Here Pentecostals are caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, they want to maintain their distinctive experience and this often means having to define it against the mainstream interpretation. Yet, on the other hand, they feel the need to establish their orthodox credentials by identifying themselves with some larger Christian Body. Pentecostals, unfortunately, had not been very judicious in their choice of allies in the past.⁷⁴

Second, the evangelicals’ exclusivism towards Pentecostalism was another cause of tension between them and the Pentecostals. McGrath points out that ‘any theologically rigorous definition of evangelicalism tends to end up excluding an embarrassingly large number of people who regard themselves, and are regarded by others, as evangelicals.’⁷⁵ McGrath’s remark applied to the history of the Pentecostal movement. Although the Pentecostals hoped that the Pentecostal movement could be recognised as an aspect of evangelicalism, most evangelicals excluded Pentecostalism from evangelicalism, considering that the Pentecostal movement was a heretical movement which was characterised by excess of emotionalism. This tension influenced the character of British Pentecostalism, as I hope to show later.

⁷⁴ Simon Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 11.

⁷⁵ Alister E. McGrath, *Evangelicalism and the Future of Christianity* (Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1995), 54.

If it can be said that the main conflict in the formative periods was between the Pentecostals and evangelicals, the tension and discord between the Anglican leaders and the younger leaders from Nonconformist denominations intensified steadily in the periods of growth. Although this kind of conflict had existed in the early days, it was not considered significant by the Pentecostals because the main concern was to defend Pentecostalism from its opponents. However, the discord deepened as Pentecostalism grew, while the opposition from outside Pentecostalism diminished.

9. Structure

Early British Pentecostalism was dominated by the Anglican leadership. The purpose of this study is to analyse British Pentecostalism in the light of the conflict between its Anglican leaders and the leaders from the Pentecostal denominations, using a diachronic-historical method and a synchronic analysis.

Chapter One is an introduction, which will include the previous research, the methodology of the thesis and the expected results of this research.

Chapter Two examines the social conditions at the turn of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century and analyses the precedent factors which affected the formation of British Pentecostalism. In this chapter, I examine the four main factors, namely, Anglicanism, the Keswick movement, revivalism (in particular, the Welsh Revival) and Classical Pentecostalism, which was American in origin and reached Boddy through Barratt. I will show that how these four background factors affected Boddy's thought and the characteristics of British Pentecostalism.

Chapter Three investigates the discords within the early Pentecostal movement and the conflicts with prominent evangelicals at this time. This conflict influenced the

characteristics of British Pentecostalism. I also describe the Sunderland Convention and the Pentecostal Missionary Union from the point of view of such conflict.

Chapter Four examines the forming of the first Pentecostal denominations, namely the AFC. This chapter investigates the difference between the view of mainstream Pentecostals who were influenced by Boddy and that of the Apostolic Faith Church of William Hutchinson. I also examine the reasons for forming a Pentecostal denomination at the risk of its being a sect of British Pentecostalism.

The fifth chapter traces the conflict in 1914-18 between Boddy and other Pentecostals over the issue of the Christian attitude towards war. In addition, the growth of the Elim movement of George Jeffreys is also examined, because the formation of the Elim Evangelical Band and its active evangelical campaign became a significant factor in spreading Pentecostalism not only in Ireland, its birthplace, but also in the British Isles.

The process of forming the Assemblies of God is examined in Chapter Six in relation to Boddy's withdrawal from the Pentecostal movement after the First World War. The discord and distrust between Anglican Pentecostals and other Pentecostals from a non-Anglican background deepened and a new Pentecostal denomination was inevitable as a way of seeking unity with the Pentecostal movement.

Chapter Seven suggests that the establishment of new Pentecostal denominations demanded the restoration of Classical Pentecostalism. In this chapter, I apply a synchronic analysis in order to examine the doctrinal and theological difference between Boddy and the denominational leaders of the Elim Church and the AOG. While Boddy diluted the Pentecostal characteristics, the Pentecostal denominations re-stress Pentecostal values such as speaking in tongues. The shift from the fivefold gospel to a

fourfold gospel is also investigated as a way of achieving doctrinal independence from the Anglican leader.

In the concluding chapter, the overall study will be evaluated comprehensively, focusing on the examination and evaluation of Boddy's role in the history of British Pentecostalism.

CHAPTER TWO

PRECEDENT SPIRITUALITIES AND THEIR COMBINATION WITH PENTECOSTALISM

Boddy was an Anglican vicar who was influenced by both the Keswick Convention (1875-) and the Welsh Revival (1904-1905). His passion for a new revival led him to introduce Pentecostalism into his parish, mingling previous movements with Pentecostalism, and these combined spiritualities had an intense effect on the growth of British Pentecostalism. This chapter examines how Boddy made contact with these spiritualities and describes the striking features which influenced the formation of Pentecostalism.

1. The Church of England and its Impact on Pentecostalism

1.1. The Triangular Relationship in English Christianity

The reason for the separation of the Church of England from Rome was not doctrinal but rather political. Although Sir Thomas More, a layman, philosopher and Lord Chancellor in the sixteenth century, did not want a Church of England which was separate from Rome because it would put the Church under secular power, royal authority took the Church under its own control and embraced Erastianism, which claimed that religion must be subordinate to the nation. Thereafter, the church became involved in political issues as well as religious ones.¹ Another division, that between the Established Church and the Free Church, appeared after the period of the Civil War, the Commonwealth and the restoration of the Monarchy during the seventeenth century; the Free (or Non-conformist) Church was also much strengthened by Methodism in the eighteenth century. The industrial revolution not only lured the Irish (mainly Catholics) into the industrial cities of England but, far from reinforcing the Church of England in

¹ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985* (London: Collins, 1986), 30-31.

the environs of the cities, added many Free Church members. The triangular relationship of religious power between the Church of England as the Established Church, the Free Church and Roman Catholicism considerably influenced the whole of English society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The census which was conducted in 1851 shows that 51 per cent of total reported attendance at service adhere to the Church of England, while 44 per cent went to one of the free churches and 3.8 per cent to a Roman Catholic Church. However, Nonconformists had risen to over 50 per cent by the late nineteenth century, in contrast with the decline in Anglican attendance,² although, broadly speaking, Anglicanism was strong in the upper middle class, rural areas and the south.

With regard to the relationship between the religious groups, Catholics were suppressed by the Protestant establishment, which dreaded the influence of the papacy. Catholics equally had a hatred for Protestant services; even attending a Protestant service was considered a sin.³ It is difficult to find any policy alliances between Catholics and Protestants during the Victorian era, in contrast to not a few alliances between the Church of England and the Free Church, in particular to defeat Tractarianism. These relationships can also be found in early British Pentecostalism. Boddy, according to his daughter, had been only a nominal Christian, although both his father and one of his brothers were Anglican ministers. It was the Keswick convention, an Anglican-led form of revivalism with interdenominational participation, which led Boddy to become a minister.⁴ In addition, Boddy held interdenominational meetings in Sunderland, although without any participation from the Catholics.

² McLeod, *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914*, 11, 27.

³ Ibid., 58.

⁴ Jane Boddy, 'Alexander Alfred Boddy,' 1.

1.2. Boddy's Mentors and the Characteristics of Anglicanism

Anglican theology inherits features from both Catholic tradition and Protestant theology. It has a variety of methods of interpretation, so it is not easy to characterise in a word what Anglicanism is.⁵ The Book of Common Prayer used to bind the Anglican churches as a common denominator, but Anglicanism has always emphasised the spiritual freedom of the individual. Roger Lloyd claims:

Anglicanism is an assertion of spiritual freedom, and there is nothing of which the Anglican Communion is more completely convinced. As a result no priest in all Christendom is as free as an Anglican priest, and his freedom is more nearly absolute, safeguarded as it is at every turn and point, than of any other stipendiary in any other profession in the modern world.⁶

However, although Anglicanism has diversity and bases its ideal on the spiritual freedom of the individual, each church is subject to the superintendence of its Bishop. In this respect, the activities of the Bishops of Durham were significant for Boddy and his revival movement in Sunderland. When Boddy decided to be an ordained priest, he had to go to Durham University instead of Cambridge for theological training because this was all that his father could afford. It is certain that a theological career at Cambridge would have given him more opportunity to be an influential leader in the Church of England, since over sixty per cent of candidates for ordination graduated from Oxbridge.⁷ However, his theological background made him a member of the Durham diocese, where Bishop Lightfoot was in charge.⁸ According to Boddy's daughter, Jane, Bishop Lightfoot, who was consecrated in Westminster Abbey in 1879, significantly

⁵ The Commission on Christian Doctrine appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and York, *Doctrine in the Church of England* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1962), 25.

⁶ Roger Bradshaigh Lloyd, *The Church of England 1900-1965* (London: SCM Press, 1966), 19.

⁷ In 1841 eight-six per cent of candidates for ordination came from Oxbridge, seven from Durham University and Trinity College Dublin and the rest from other sources. However, the percentage of Oxbridge candidates had dropped to sixty-five by the 1860s, and both Trinity College Dublin and Durham University occupied nine per cent and other sources twenty-six. Gerald Parsons (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain Vol. 1 Traditions* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1988), 25-26.

⁸ Jane Boddy, 'Alexander Alfred Boddy,' 1.

influenced Boddy's life. No sooner had he taken over the bishopric than he formed a clergy-house where he concentrated on training spiritual sons who themselves wanted to be spiritual and devotional leaders.⁹ It is likely that Boddy was one of these spiritual sons. On a Sunday evening in November 1884, Lightfoot entrusted to him All Saints' Church at Monkwearmouth, after his curacy at St. Peter's, Auckland.¹⁰

Another of Boddy's spiritual mentors was Handley Carr Glyn Moule, the successor of Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott. As both Lightfoot and Moule were highly respected figures in the Church of England, under the sovereign as Supreme Governor of the church, it is not surprising that they had a close relationship with the Court. As soon as he was consecrated Bishop of Durham on 18 October 1901 by the Archbishop of York, Dr. Maclagan, Moule went to London to render homage to the King on October 30. He was so impressed that he often referred in his Confirmation addresses to this scene.¹¹ Moreover, Moule took part in the coronations of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. Moule was a broadminded person with an ecumenical approach. For instance, when the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa were accused by the Bishop of Zanzibar of welcoming missionaries from other denominations who did not belong to the Episcopate of the Church of England, Moule defended the two bishops by writing a letter to *The Times*.¹² The broadminded and ecumenical thought of Moule led him to work for many interdenominational organisations. He was a vice-president of both the Church Missionary Society and the Bible Society, as well as taking an active part in the

⁹ The Quarterly Review, *Bishop Lightfoot* (London: Macmillan, 1894), 66-69.

¹⁰ *Confidence* No. 132 (January-March 1923), 4.

¹¹ John Battersby Harford and Frederick Charles Macdonald (eds.), *The Life of Handley Carr Glyn Moule* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), 188-189.

¹² He wrote in *The Times* 'I may say this, that if the English Church comes to pronounce authoritatively such action heretical, a new epoch of vital, or mortal, import will enter her history. It will be officially avowed, for the first time, that we have no part nor lot with non-episcopal Churches: to whom, by the way, in a sense unknown to history, the great word Protestant is now being applied as a term exclusive of Anglicans ... I must also regard my own conscience, and not be ashamed of my own convictions. If the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa are arraigned for heresy for their share of responsibility for a programme which I think to be true to the mind of our Master and full of promise for His work, I for one would willingly, if it may be, take my place beside them.' *Ibid.*, 250-252.

Keswick movement since his first appearance there in 1886. Moreover, he attended the Lambeth Conference in 1908 and the World Missionary Conference, the beginning of the ecumenical movement, where he gave an impressive address in Edinburgh in 1910.¹³

With regard to the work of the Holy Spirit, he extensively examined this in his book, *Veni Creator*. He cautiously claimed that the fullness of the Spirit (or the filling of the Spirit) could be either a special, critical and abnormal manifestation or a habitual phase in the normal course of a believer's life. What is more, he acknowledged that the fullness of the Spirit was closely connected with miraculous power, in particular inspiring manifestations, including speaking in tongues in the Bible.¹⁴ However, he argued that, even so, it is by no means necessary and the work of the Spirit to increase the believer's moral strength is more important than miraculous manifestations, saying:

As we study the description of the Fruit of the Spirit, and the Indwelling of Christ in the heart by the Spirit, we are surely right in being certain that, whatever the Fullness has to do with tongues and prophecies, it has its very highest concern with the believer's spiritual knowledge of His glorious Lord in the life of faith, and with the true manifestation of that life in the loveliness of a holy walk. To be filled with the Spirit is a phrase intensely connected with the fullness of our consecration to the will and work of God in human life.¹⁵

As far as the phrase 'the baptism of the Holy Spirit' is concerned, he distinguished it from the filling of the Spirit. He related Spirit baptism to the commencement of the Church rather than seeing it as a condition which the believer must meet. He thought that it was a mistake for the believer to seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit in order to

¹³ Ibid., 243-244.

¹⁴ Handley C. G. Moule, *Veni Creator* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), 211-212.

¹⁵ Ibid., 211-214.

serve God more effectively, because we have already been baptised by the Spirit according to His promise.¹⁶

As examined above, the pneumatology of Moule is different from that of the Pentecostals. Indeed, it looks closer to the teaching of Keswick. Yet Boddy had something in common with Moule. Since Moule took part in such evangelical occasions as the Keswick Convention, though he was loyal to the Church of England, Boddy, devoting himself to the church, also wanted the Pentecostal movement to be an ecumenical (or interdenominational) movement for revival. This kind of thought was well expressed in Boddy's reminiscences:

Though I hope I am very loyal to my own beloved historic Church of England, I have endeavoured to show brotherly sympathy with other sincere bodies of Christians in my parish and in the town ... I heard him [Ald. Wm. Walker] say recently, humorously if rather irreverently, "Why, man, Mr. Boddy is almost a 'daddy' to the Nonconformists on the North-side."¹⁷

In short, the characteristics of Anglicanism which influenced Boddy's thought can be summarised as follows. First, Anglicanism faced a powerful Nonconformist challenge in England and even more so in Wales. The decline of Anglican attendance not only caused disestablishment in both Ireland and Wales but also was confronted with Nonconformist challenges on many issues. This kind of challenge between Boddy and other Pentecostals could be seen in the early days of Pentecostalism in Britain. Second, spiritual freedom itself and varying methods of interpretation are also a striking characteristic of Anglicanism. This distinctiveness allows an Anglican to easily accept different forms of spirituality, but at the same time not to assimilate them. Third, Anglicanism has always had close connection with the royal power. This connection has made most ministers in the church feel involved in secular affairs such as the World

¹⁶ Ibid., 220-227.

¹⁷ A. A. Boddy, 'From Sunderland to Pitlington,' *Confidence* No.123 (January-March 1923), 66.

Wars, which some Pentecostals did not want to be involved in. Fourth, the spiritual liberty without any particular doctrinal emphasis encouraged some Anglicans to join interdenominational alliances, such as the Keswick Convention. However, an ecumenical alliance was easily broken off when it met a strong spirituality. Fifth, as McLeod has found, Anglicanism was seen as a religion for the well-to-do. However, Pentecostalism was attractive to the marginalised.

2. The Keswick Movement

2.1. The Keswick Movement's Teaching and Its Methods

The Keswick Convention is on an extended line from the holiness movement, which was intensified by Pearsall Smith, who came to England in 1873. Robert Pearsall Smith, with his wife, Hannah Whitall Smith, was invited to a series of meetings including the Broadland Conference, the Oxford Conference and the Brighton Convention, where he preached about Scriptural holiness. The Keswick Convention started in 1875 under the leadership of Canon Dundas Harford-Battersby, the vicar of St. John's Church in Keswick, in order to promote practical holiness. Canon Battersby, with his coadjutor, Robert Wilson, sent invitations headed 'Union Meetings for the Promotion of Practical Holiness' to meetings at Keswick, which were to run from 29 June to 2 July 1875 under the chairmanship of Pearsall Smith. However, due to the sudden withdrawal of Pearsall Smith just a few days before the convention started, Canon Battersby had to preside at the first convention.¹⁸

Focusing on Scriptural holiness, the Keswick Convention tried to prove that it is possible to attain a holiness of life which is not abstract but practical. Not by long

¹⁸ The reason given for Pearsall Smith's withdrawal was illness. However, rumours were circulated relating to his adultery and he was prevented from conducting further public ministry. Pollock reveals that his collapse was due to the fact that he was dragged into an adulterous scandal with a young woman. J. C. Pollock, *The Keswick Story* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), 34-37.

prayer and laborious effort but by a deliberate and decisive act of faith, Christians could lead a peaceful and holy life because in Christ there is provided for every believer victory, liberty and rest which may be obtained by the surrender of the individual to God and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit instead of life-long struggle.¹⁹ As a result, the message of Spirit baptism was often preached in Keswick. J. B. Figgis points out that ‘to give any adequate account of the teaching of the Convention on THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT would need not a chapter but a volume.’ (original capitals)²⁰ Among the speakers, E. W. Moore related the work of the Holy Spirit to strengthening the Christian for service. He preached in 1880 that the ‘the effect of the anointing oil which is the symbol of the Holy Spirit is power, so without it there is no competency for service.’²¹ Charles Inwood, for his part, stressed the possibility of being suddenly filled with the Spirit, and in 1900 urged his hearers to be filled with the Spirit, even at the risk of being called a ‘fanatic’ or ‘extreme.’²² Moreover, R. A. Torrey spoke about baptism with the Holy Spirit as being endued with power to serve the work of evangelism and in 1904 detailed the six steps for receiving it.²³ Those teachings were highlighted when the Pentecostal movement reached the United Kingdom in 1907. In this connection, Hubert Brooke, one of the main speakers at Keswick, indicated that there was a clear line of development in the preaching there. In the first eight or ten years of the Convention, most sermons and testimonies were focused on the matter of deliverance from besetting sin and the gaining of victory in the believer’s life through the power of Christ accepted by faith. Preachers expressed this kind of blessing as a ‘second

¹⁹ Charles F. Harford, ‘Its Message, its Method and its Men,’ Charles F. Harford (ed.), *The Keswick Convention* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1907), 4-7.

²⁰ J. B. Figgis, ‘Some Characteristics of the Message,’ *Ibid.*, 106.

²¹ E. W. Moore, ‘Anointed with Fresh Oil,’ Herbert F. Stevenson (ed.), *The Keswick’s Authentic Voice* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1959), 421-423.

²² Charles Inwood, ‘The Fullness of The Spirit,’ Herbert F. Stevenson (ed.), *Keswick’s Triumphant Voice* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1963), 338-344.

²³ R. A. Torrey, ‘The Spirit of Burning,’ Stevenson, *Keswick’s Authentic Voice*, 451-452; Walter B. Sloan, *These Sixty Years* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1935), 57; Torrey, ‘How to Receive The Holy Ghost,’ Stevenson, *Keswick’s Triumphant Voice*, 347-363.

conversion' or a 'second blessing.'²⁴ In the next stage, many addresses at Keswick emphasised the power of the Holy Spirit, who is the great Enabler of all believers to serve the works for which God calls.²⁵ The third stage appeared soon after the second. As a logical sequence, the missionary call to the Church of Christ became an important issue in the Keswick Convention, so that preachers often urged hearers to become missionaries, following the divine call.²⁶

As regards pneumatology, there was an interesting change in the reason for objecting to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Some opposition in the early stages came from beyond Keswick, because the Keswick speakers emphasised the delivering power of the Saviour rather than the work of the Holy Spirit; often the role of the Spirit was even ignored. However, in the next stage much opposition came to Keswick through an accusation that its teaching about the Spirit was fallacious.²⁷

As Bebbington indicates, advent teaching and premillennialism were also among the important messages from the Keswick Convention. The speakers at Keswick preached that when Christ returned he would expect his people to be pure and it was indispensable to proclaim the Gospel to all nations in the world before Christ's advent. Thus all Christians should prepare for the second coming of Christ in the most purified state as well as exerting all their powers to evangelise the world.²⁸ In 1880, Canon Battersby recollected that the Second Advent and the saints' preparation for it had been a principal subject and all the speakers adhered remarkably to the topic.²⁹ Furthermore, it was an important topic in the *Keswick Hymnbook*.

²⁴ Hubert Brooke, 'The Message: Its Method of Presentation,' Harford, *The Keswick Convention*, 78-80.

²⁵ Ibid., 82-85.

²⁶ Ibid., 85-86.

²⁷ Ibid., 84.

²⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 152, 191-194.

²⁹ Sloan, 25.

In its approach, informality was at first a striking feature of Keswick. Pollock pointed this out, together with its ‘remarkable absence of planning and organizing’ as regards speakers.³⁰ From the very outset, as we have seen, Keswick had to start without its expected speaker, Robert Pearsall Smith, because of his sudden withdrawal. For this reason, Canon Battersby had to ask Prebendary H. W. Webb-Peploe, as one of the main speakers, to share the task with H. F. Bowker, T. M. Croome, Rev. T. Philips, Mr. Shirley from America, the Rev. G. N. Thornton and Battersby himself.³¹ Webb-Peploe remembers how the convention was organised in haste:

... and all that the speakers knew of “preparation times” was that, after long and earnest prayer, in Canon Battersby’s house at night, he would apportion next day’s work and say to each one, “Will you take this?” and “Will you take that?” No one thought about his appointment, but took it as being directly “of the Lord.”³²

He continued to wish that this informality at the Keswick Convention would never become formal, but ever more and more in the hands of God.³³ However, as the scale of the conventions enlarged, it became necessary for Keswick to be better organised, and soon a trustee was appointed to administer the property which had been donated to further the work of Keswick. Moreover, since in 1900 Keswick acquired two tents which could accommodate more than three thousand people, it had to discontinue the custom of withholding the names of speakers, and issued a published programme showing who was to preach in each tent.³⁴

It is also fair to see Keswick as an expression of Romanticism. Keswick was often criticised on the ground of its emotional and sentimental characteristics.³⁵ The appeal

³⁰ Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, 49.

³¹ Sloan, 21-22.

³² H. W. Webb-Peploe, ‘Early Keswick Conventions,’ Harford, *The Keswick Convention*, 42-43.

³³ *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁴ Sloan, 53.

³⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 152, 167.

of its messages was well within the Romantic tradition. Geographically speaking, Keswick was in the Lake District, where William Wordsworth, a prominent poet in the Romantic movement, wrote many of his most famous poems, including *The Excursion*. It is one of the most beautiful spots in the world, and to some participants it seemed to be the most beautiful.³⁶ The conventions at Keswick became spiritual excursions for Christians who needed a physical and spiritual rest. These and many other Romantic elements could be found at Keswick. Under the influence of Wordsworth, C. A. Fox, one of the curates of Pennefather, who was the founder of the Mildmay Conference and the poet of Keswick, expresses in his sonnet *The Marred Face* romantic love for Christ and describes the beauties of nature replacing grief over Christ's agonies.

All wounds and woes of earth, once made Thine Own,
Add colour to the Rainbow round the Throne,
And save from loneliness saints else alone.
Pain trims the lamps at Nature's eventide
Ere the King enters to bring home His Bride,
My King, by suffering perfected and tried!³⁷

The romantic powers of poetry and music played significant roles in the Keswick Convention. The melodies of the Keswick hymnbook were generally soft and low, appealing to the romantic taste of the audience.³⁸

2.2. Characteristics of the Keswick Convention

Keswick could be characterised as an Anglican-dominated movement. As it had been begun by a member of the Anglican clergy, Canon Battersby, and had the significant participation of members of the Church of England, it was natural for the movement to be dominated by Anglicans. Bebbington indicates that Keswick's teaching was far more

³⁶ Harford, *The Keswick Convention*, 3.

³⁷ J. Elder Cumming, 'The Founders and Some of the Leaders,' Harford, *The Keswick Convention*, 58.

³⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 174.

accepted by evangelical Anglicans, with their high social status, than by evangelical Nonconformists and goes on to say that Anglican dominance in Keswick was assured.³⁹ However, some Anglicans did not attend the Keswick Conventions, even vicars of St. John's, including J. N. Hoare, the successor of Harford-Battersby.⁴⁰ Even so, Keswick was a movement in which Anglicans were the central force. For this, a Nonconformist correspondent from the *British Weekly* expressed regret:

My only regret as a Nonconformist is that a movement like this, so entirely scriptural and beneficial, is falling so largely into the hands of the Church of England, simply because the leaders of Nonconformism are holding aloof from it.⁴¹

However, from the late nineteenth century onwards, Nonconformists started to join the Keswick Convention under the banner, 'All one in Christ Jesus' and some non-Anglican preachers appeared on the Keswick platform, such as John Brass, the Lancashire Methodist, and F. B. Meyer, a Baptist pastor in York. A massive influx of Nonconformists into Keswick caused Anglicans some apprehension that they would lose their influence in the Keswick movement. In 1895, Webb-Peploe, who from the beginning had been a prominent Anglican speaker at Keswick, expressed his anxiety to Wilson that the Keswick platform might become dominated by Nonconformists.⁴² What is more, some doctrinal discords arose between the two camps. Meyer was criticised by the Anglican press because he circulated Baptist tracts urging Anglicans to be rebaptised and was supposed to have rebaptised George Grubb.⁴³

The Anglican rite of Holy Communion became a controversial issue at Keswick. The Ministers' Communion Service, which was initiated by J. N. Hoare, was held in St.

³⁹ Ibid., 177-178.

⁴⁰ Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, 101-102.

⁴¹ Ibid., 102.

⁴² Ibid., 111.

⁴³ Ibid., 104.

John's Church on the Thursday morning of the Convention at 7a.m. Although ministers of all denominations were invited, the Communion was conducted using the Anglican liturgy.⁴⁴ However, when the ecumenical movement strengthened after the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910, ecumenical minds also became part of the Keswick movement. Finally, the first united communion service was held in 1929 using a non-denominational format under the chairmanship of Stuart Holden, a wealthy preacher.⁴⁵ As I hope to show, the conflict between Anglicans and Nonconformists reappears in the early stage of British Pentecostalism under Boddy.

Second, Keswick is an upper-middle class movement. It must be said that the listeners of Keswick were mainly intellectuals. Barnes-Lawrence wrote that 'it is a new experience to our clerics to notice thousands of intelligent listeners, many of them skilled teachers, following with open Bibles and notebooks a simple exposition enforced by homely pointed illustration.'⁴⁶ Indeed, General Nobel criticised Keswick for becoming a gathering for the rich alone, without consideration for the poor saints.⁴⁷ Bebbington also asserts that the geographical location of Keswick as a famous resort attracted the upper classes, but that the lower class could not afford to take this kind of physical and spiritual time out.⁴⁸

Third, despite the above, Keswick has some ecumenical features. As Bucknall indicates, unity was the most urgent issue among the evangelical group and in the middle of the nineteenth century there were several attempts to hold an evangelical union meeting. The Islington Clerical Meeting was established in 1827 and associations for union

⁴⁴ Harford, *The Keswick Convention*, 191.

⁴⁵ Maurice L Rowlandson, *Life at the Keswick Convention* (Carlisle: OM Publishing, 1997), 12.

⁴⁶ Canon A. E. Barnes-Lawrence, 'Clergy and Minister at Keswick,' Harford, *The Keswick Convention*, 189.

⁴⁷ Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, 111.

⁴⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 177.

between the clergy and the laity were formed in the later 1850s.⁴⁹ As evangelicals were averse to Roman Catholicism, given their Reformation identification of the papacy as Antichrist, many evangelical associations, such as the Protestant Association, which was founded in 1835 by J. E. Gordon, were also anti-Catholic but ecumenical.⁵⁰ However, unlike those who defensively unite against Catholicism, the Mildmay Conference, which was started in 1856 at Barnet and then at Mildmay in north London under the leadership of William Pennefather, emphasised first personal holiness and then social order. Like Pennefather, Canon Battersby, the founder of the Keswick Convention also focused strongly on personal holiness, but was not much concerned about events in the world outside.⁵¹

Charles F. Harford Battersby, the youngest son of Canon Battersby and the editor of *The Keswick Convention* (1907), also presents the Keswick Convention as an ecumenical movement. He says that ‘it is a remarkable fact that the speakers are drawn from all the principal Christian denominations, though at Keswick differences between Christians are kept out of sight, and the motto which is placed over the door of the tent is characteristic of the spirit of the meetings, “All one in Christ”.’⁵² The unity of believers was always emphasised under the banner of ‘All one in Christ,’ which was chosen by Robert Wilson. Most early speakers were in agreement with this view. Harrington C. Lees, who became the Archbishop of Melbourne, emphasised the unity in the Keswick Convention, saying:

Amid the clash of creeds and strife of sects it has been found possible,
under the banner whose tranquillising motto is “All one in Christ Jesus,”
for men to forget their religious differences in their spiritual union, and

⁴⁹ Alison Mary Bucknall, ‘“Be Ye Holy”: The Mildmay Conference and the Keswick Convention (1856-1900)’ (M. Litt. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1997), 17.

⁵⁰ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 101-2.

⁵¹ Bucknall, ‘Be Ye Holy,’ 11.

⁵² Harford, *The Keswick Convention*, 21.

to demonstrate to the world that the “Unity of the Spirit” is a practical fact ... Keswick has found no new denomination, nor has it weakened any of the old ones. It has to a singular extent been kept free of the fanaticism that makes for secessions from one church to another.⁵³

Furthermore, Pollock implies that Keswick laid the cornerstone of the ecumenical movement.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, though Keswick pointed in an ecumenical direction, most of the chairmen and speakers there were Anglican. Moreover, it would have been impossible at this time for Catholics to take part in any ecumenical events. Although Keswick chose the ecumenical motto, ‘All one in Christ Jesus,’ and tried to lead the conventions in an ecumenical way, they were not essentially ecumenical conventions but meetings of an evangelical alliance to promote practical holiness.⁵⁵

2.3. The Keswick Movement and the Forming of Pentecostalism

The Keswick convention has significance for the history of the British Pentecostal movement. First, the increase in the teaching on the work of the Holy Spirit at Keswick made evangelical ministers focus on Pneumatology, which became highlighted in Pentecostalism. The teaching on premillennialism also flourished in the Pentecostal teachings. In this respect, Keswick was a catalyst for Pentecostalism.

Second, some key leaders of British Pentecostalism were connected with Keswick. Boddy, who was a pivotal figure in early Pentecostalism in the British Isles, was strongly affected by Keswick. According to Jane Boddy, Boddy had been ‘a nominal Christian in his youth’ but decided to become a minister after he attended one of the Keswick Conventions.⁵⁶ Moreover, he gave out leaflets reporting the Pentecostal revival in Oslo to the participants at the Keswick meetings after he had attended

⁵³ Harrington C. Lees, ‘The Effect on the Individual Ministry,’ Harford, *The Keswick Convention*, 176.

⁵⁴ Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, 129-131.

⁵⁵ Sloan, 90.

⁵⁶ Jane Boddy, ‘Alexander Alfred Boddy,’ 1.

Barratt's meeting in 1907. His wife, Mary Boddy, who was an important divine healer, was also influenced by the movement.

As Boddy was an Anglican vicar in Sunderland, part of the Durham diocese, it was natural for him to be influenced by the Bishop of Durham. When Boddy started the Pentecostal movement, bishop was Handley Moule, who was one of the main speakers of the Keswick Convention. Moule was a Keswick theologian who laid the theological foundation of Keswick's teachings. According to Pollock, in the formative stage of the Keswick movement, there was much confusion over what the nature of the movement should be, since many leaders preached different views of holiness and there were few theologians who could give a theological foundation to the new movement. Moreover, some suggested (and even claimed) that they had achieved sinless perfection. In this crisis, the movement would have weakened and died or been condemned as heretical if there had not been Handley Moule, Principal of the theological college of Ridley Hall in Cambridge.⁵⁷ Affected by Moule, Boddy seems to have joined the conventions with other Pentecostals at the same time as he was teaching and practising the Pentecostal blessing, which had been considered an extremely emotional movement.⁵⁸

Cecil Polhill, another leader of early British Pentecostalism, spoke at Keswick in 1902 about missionary work in Tibet.⁵⁹ After he had received Pentecostalism in America in 1906, he became, with Boddy, a strong supporter of the Pentecostal movement. Just as it is possible to see Keswick as a movement led by Anglicans, so Anglican leadership can be discerned in British Pentecostalism.

⁵⁷ Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, 67-68.

⁵⁸ *Confidence* No.5 (August 1908), 13.

⁵⁹ Sloan, 55.

Third, however, as will be seen in the next chapter, some opposition to the Pentecostal movement emerged from key leaders of Keswick, such as Jessie Penn-Lewis and Graham Scroggie.⁶⁰ Both the potential leaders of British Pentecostalism and its objectors were thus closely connected with Keswick, but their weak alliance soon broke down when Pentecostalism rose to the surface of evangelicalism.

Fourth, even though one writer from Wimbledon wished that the first Whitsuntide Conference at Sunderland had had the same important role as the Brighton and Oxford conference had had in the formation of Keswick,⁶¹ British Pentecostalism inherited some striking features from the Keswick Convention. First of all, British Pentecostalism was oriented in an ecumenical direction, just as Keswick was. At Keswick this was possible because there was no signed statement of doctrine. Keswick, as Webb-Peploe was assured, had no new doctrine, no new truth to bring forward.⁶² Unlike Pentecostalism, which was often called ‘the tongue movement,’ which strongly connotes a doctrinal nuance, the name Keswick was derived simply from a place in the Lake District. Boddy also tried to lead the Pentecostal movement in an ecumenical direction. It seems that Boddy wanted the Pentecostal movement to be a Keswick-type renewal. However, such doctrine-centred unity was easy to split when the minority of Anglicans became overshadowed by the non-Anglican majority.

3. The Welsh Religious Revival as the Fuse of Pentecostalism

It is generally agreed among scholars that the Welsh Religious Revival of 1904-05 was one of the most influential events in the history of revivalism in the twentieth century. Among evangelical scholars, J. Edwin Orr asserts that ‘it was the most extensive Evangelical Awakening of all time’ and that ‘the extent of the Awakening of 1900-1910

⁶⁰ Kay, *Pentecostals*, 7.

⁶¹ *Confidence* No.2 (May 1908), 5.

⁶² Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, 73.

far exceeded that of 1858-1859.’⁶³ Its worldwide influence was also highly praised by Eifion Evans as ‘a significant and substantial contribution to the advance of Christianity in the twentieth century.’⁶⁴

The Welsh Revival had a significant influence on the formation of Pentecostalism and research into the Welsh Revival with regard to Pentecostalism has taken four main directions. First, most researchers have observed the revival from the contextual point of view. They chronologically describe the history of the revival, focusing on Evan Roberts, its main figure. R. Tudor Jones, a prolific Welsh historian, belongs to this category. His well-researched book entitled *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation*, which uses both Welsh and English materials, places the focus on reviewing the Welsh context chronologically, and gives just a few lines to the impact of this on Pentecostalism.⁶⁵ Second, some try to draw out the Pentecostal characteristics of the revival phenomenon. While John Aled Owen researches orality during the revival and its continuation in the Pentecostal denominations,⁶⁶ Vinson Synan with tenuous evidence focuses on the appearance of speaking in tongues which is the core phenomenon of Pentecostalism.⁶⁷ Third, others look at the role of the Welsh Revival in intensifying the hope of worldwide revival. Hooper examines the Welsh Revival and its impact on the American revival in connection with the Student Volunteer Movement.⁶⁸ Fourth, the direct

⁶³ J. Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue: Evangelical Awakenings, 1910-* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1975), 191, 199.

⁶⁴ Eifion Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* (London: Evangelical Press, 1969), 160.

⁶⁵ R. Tudor Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2004).

⁶⁶ John Aled Owen, ‘A Study of Orality and Conceptuality during the Welsh Religious Revival of 1904-1906’ (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1997),

⁶⁷ Synan, *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition*, 114-117; Orr asserts there was no *glossolalia* during the revival, Orr, *The Flaming Tongue*, 181. 197. However, based on Pierson’s report, Anderson and Robert claim that speaking in tongues appeared at the Keswick Convention in 1905 where the account of the Welsh Revival was reported by those who were closely associated with the revival. Pierson notes that there were ‘disturbing anarchy’ and ‘a Satanic disturbance’ but does not directly mention the appearance of speaking in tongues. Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM, 2007), 28; Dana L. Robert, *Occupy until I Come* (Michigan and Cambridge: Eerdmans Publishing, 2003), 261-262.

⁶⁸ Emmanuel Hooper, ‘An Investigation into the Effects of the 1905 American Revival on Missions with Special Reference to the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions 1905-1920’ (Ph.D. Thesis,

participants who joined the Pentecostal movement have been much mentioned in many historical books on Pentecostalism. Both Gee and Evans note a series by such Pentecostal leaders as A. A. Boddy, T. B. Barratt and the Jeffreys brothers.⁶⁹ To sum up, it seems that most works seek to prove that Pentecostalism descended from the Welsh Revival.

Although the significance of the Welsh Revival on the birth of Pentecostalism is acknowledged, the evangelicals and the Pentecostal scholars have understood this differently. In the Pentecostal camp, both Anderson and Hollenweger acknowledge the impact of the revival on the forming of Pentecostalism, although they mainly emphasise its role in the inception of British Pentecostalism rather than its worldwide influence on the formation of global Pentecostalism.⁷⁰ However, it seems that the emphases of the scholars are different, though the significance of the Revival has generally been agreed. Orr stresses the importance of the revival in spreading evangelical awakenings throughout the world, understanding the Pentecostal movement in the framework of the evangelical awakenings. On the contrary, Anderson includes some parts of the evangelical awakenings mentioned by Orr in the first scattered appearances of global Pentecostalism. For him, the influence of the Welsh Revival is mainly confined to the birth of British Pentecostalism rather than its worldwide influence, although its impact on the formation of American Pentecostalism is acknowledged.⁷¹ The influence of the

University of Birmingham, 2005).

⁶⁹ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 5-6; Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904*, 192-196.

⁷⁰ Both Anderson and Hollenweger mainly stress the Welsh Revival in connection with British Pentecostalism, although they mention Frank Bartleman and Joseph Smale and their influence on the Azusa Street Revival. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 35-38., Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 22, 176-177.

⁷¹ Although it is not the main concern of this thesis, it is noteworthy that Anderson's definition is similar to that of Orr who treats the spontaneous revivals in the twentieth century as the Second Evangelical Awakenings. While Orr includes the revivals in Latin America, India and Korea in the Evangelical Awakenings of the twentieth century, Anderson understands these revivals as global Pentecostalism. See Orr, *The Flaming Tongue*, 100-106 (Latin America), 147-151 (India), 164-171 (Korea); Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 63-69 (Latin America), 123-128 (India), 136-137 (Korea). How to define Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Awakening is an important issue in this matter. To compare their definitions, see Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 13-14; Orr, *The Flaming Tongue*, vii.

Welsh Revival in forming British Pentecostalism is the subject of the present section. Although it is true that Pentecostalism was positively influenced by it, some controversial factors, which were disputed during the revival and which were intensified when the Pentecostal movement emerged, should also be examined.

3.1. The Welsh Revival and Its Characteristics

Christianity in Wales flourished and was closely connected with the way of life of the Welsh until 1890. Being Welsh meant being a Christian.⁷² Wales was indebted to several revivals for its status as a Christian country, so it was named ‘the land of revivals.’⁷³ It was also deeply influenced by the Second Evangelical Awakening in 1859. During the periods of revival, apart from their impact on the religious life of the Welsh, it is estimated that 110,000 people were converted and added to the churches.⁷⁴

Following the earlier sporadic revivals, an extensive revival took place in 1904-5 in which Evan Roberts played a significant part, together with Seth Joshua and Joseph Jenkins. The Keswick Convention had a significant role in instigating this revival. The two Keswick Conventions which were held in Wales in 1903 and 1904 gave the Welsh a passion for a new revival, and the key organisers were much influenced by Keswick.⁷⁵

Seth Joshua, who had been much involved in the Forward Movement since 1891, was profoundly affected by the Keswick Convention. When he was in London he talked to

⁷² Jones, *Faith and the Crisis*, 3-4.

⁷³ Eifion Evans states that there were at least fifteen outstanding revivals from 1762 to 1862. Eifion Evans, *When He Is Come* (London: Evangelical Press, 1967), 10.

⁷⁴ According to Orr, among the converts, the Calvinistic Methodist and Congregational churches received 36,190 and 36,000 respectively. 14,000 were added to the Baptist churches and 4,549 to the Wesleyan Methodists. The established church recruited only 20,000 new communicants. J. Edwin Orr, *The Evangelical Awakening in Britain* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1949), 92-93; Evans, *When He Is Come*, 97.

⁷⁵ Some participants at the Keswick Convention in Wales in 1903 expressed their desire for a new revival and commented that ‘Wales may be the cradle of the evangelists for the coming revival!’ Mary N. Garrard, *Mrs. Penn-Lewis, A Memoir* (London: The Overcomer Book Room, 1930), 223.

F. B. Meyer, one of the main speakers at Keswick, and attended the Conventions to enjoy their spiritual renewal. However, he later criticised them for becoming occasions for mere spiritual enjoyment under the guise of the promotion of holiness, instead of missionary work. Furthermore, he censored Keswick for being too dogmatic to allow the Holy Spirit to work in the believers at His will. On the contrary, the formulaic teaching at Keswick had, for him, hindered the hearers from receiving the blessing of the Spirit.⁷⁶ Joseph Jenkins, another key figure of the revival, also encountered the Keswick teachings in 1903, and later started to hold conventions in south Cardiganshire during 1904 to deepen its spiritual life.⁷⁷

The main revivalist of the 1904-5 revival, Evan Roberts, experienced the fire of the Holy Spirit at Blaenannerch where Seth Joshua prayed, and soon after he began the life of a revivalist, following the voice of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁸ Having experienced the Spirit-filled blessing he at once went to Loughor, where he had been born in 1878, with a passion for ministry to young people. His success in ministering in his hometown allowed him to live the life of a revivalist.

Evan Roberts took part in seven itinerant revival campaigns throughout the whole of Wales, in addition to his fourth campaign (from 28 March to 18 April 1905) in Liverpool, where he confronted direct opposition from several ministers. Even though his sudden withdrawal from the public ministry put an end to further revivals in Wales, the revival of 1904-05 had already affected many. Even after the revival waned, its influence reached every nook and corner of Welsh life.

⁷⁶ Evans, *The Welsh Revival*, 51-52.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

Jones points out that trying to generalise about the phenomenon of the revival is unhelpful and that it is not easy to find any patterns in common during the revival;⁷⁹ but still, it has some striking features.

First of all, there is its emotionalism, which was the main ground for the criticism of its opponents. Penn-Lewis appreciates the fact that emotionalism fed the roots of the intellect and infused new life into the Tree of Knowledge as well as the Tree of Life.⁸⁰ Music in particular had an important role in stirring the emotion. The use of music in the revival meetings depended greatly on the hymns of Moody and Sankey. When Moody and Sankey's form of evangelism swept Britain people were much impressed by the music, in particular by Sankey's musical ability, which whipped up the hearer's emotions.⁸¹ Later, Torrey who was Moody's successor used the same methods; thus singing became an essential factor in the emotional excitement.

The fire of revival could spread easily throughout Wales because the Welsh tend to be very emotional; Awstin asserts that 'the Welsh people have always been easily acted upon by religious influences. This is characteristic of the emotional Celtic race.'⁸² From the beginnings of the revival, young people, including Evan Roberts himself, who was easily whipped up into an emotional state, had a pivotal role in bringing the fire of revival to the whole Principality.⁸³ Singing hymns was above all a catalyst for rousing young people's emotions. Awstin reports that 'A young woman rose to give out a hymn,

⁷⁹ Jones, *Faith and Crisis*, 356.

⁸⁰ Jessie Penn-Lewis, *The Awakening in Wales and Some of Hidden Springs* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1905), 2.

⁸¹ John Pollock, *Moody without Sankey* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966), 124-127.

⁸² Awstin, 'The Religious Revival in Wales,' *Western Mail* No.1, 1. Republished by Quinta Press, *The Religious Revival in Wales: Contemporaneous Newspaper Accounts of the Welsh Revival of 1904-05 Published by the Western Mail* (Oswestry, England: Quinta Press, 2004).

⁸³ Jones, *Faith and Crisis*, 289.

which was sung with deep earnestness. While it was being sung several people dropped down in their seats as if they had been struck, and commenced crying for pardon.’⁸⁴

Moreover, Evan Roberts often collapsed under emotion; he would fall back into his chair and weep loudly for ten minutes. The emotion of the revivalist himself agitated the congregations to an emotional pitch and finally brought them to the point of weeping with him.⁸⁵ This being the case, as the revival continued it began to be criticised, in particular for the part played by Evan Roberts, and a shift can be seen from this emotionalism towards intellectualism. After a chain of successful revival meetings, Evan Roberts became the centre of public attention in newspapers such as the *Western Mail*, which levelled severe criticism against him. Peter Price was his most notorious critic. In a letter to the *Western Mail* dated 31 January 1905, he criticised Evan Roberts himself for a lack of intellectual ability, saying:

My honest conviction is this: that the best thing that could happen to the cause of the true religious Revival amongst us would be for Evan Roberts and his girl-companions to withdraw into their respective homes, and there to examine themselves, and learn a little more of the meaning of Christianity, if they have the capacity for this, instead of going about the country pretending to show the Way of Life to people many of whom know a thousand times more about it than they do. Why, we have scores of young colliers in Dowlais with whom Evan Roberts is not to be compared either in intellectual capability or spiritual power.⁸⁶

Although Evan Roberts evaded direct disputes with his critics, he became conscious of the excessive emotionalism of his approach. When he met a young man from Durham who said that he ‘could not feel’ about Christ, he bluntly responded ‘You don’t need to

⁸⁴ Awstin, ‘The Religious Revival in Wales,’ *Western Mail* No.1, 4.

⁸⁵ Awstin, ‘The Religious Revival in Wales,’ *Western Mail* No.2, 5.

⁸⁶ J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *The Welsh Religious Revival 1904-5, A Retrospect and a Criticism* (London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1909), 143.

feel, but to believe. Emotions can lead you astray. Do not put your trust in emotion.’⁸⁷ Finally, affected by Jessie Penn-Lewis, he stood against excessive emotionalism and eventually considered Pentecostalism an evil movement.

Second, after its emotionalism, spontaneity and informality were other striking features of the revival. Throughout the whole revival period, the congregations responded by spontaneous singing and prayer. In Liverpool, where Evan Roberts faced a public attack from Daniel Hughes, spontaneous prayers broke out from every part of the building at the end of a hymn from Annie Davies, one of Evan Roberts’ sisters who had joined the revival journeys from the start.⁸⁸ Moreover, the outbursts of spontaneous and simultaneous singing and prayers often interrupted the preaching. Evan Roberts himself had to stop in the middle of his addresses because of the impulsive prayers.⁸⁹ Any speakers could address these meetings without hesitation, not by being invited but simply by the will to do so. David Matthews, an eyewitness of the revival, gives us an example of this. When a bishop who had strong evangelical views was baffled by what he had witnessed at a service, a Welsh minister from London suggested that the bishop should be invited to speak. However, Roberts rejected this suggestion.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the Welsh congregations, who preferred spontaneous prayer and praise to well-organised speeches, resented the use of English, believing that English visitors seemed to think the latter more important than the former.⁹¹

Third, in comparison with other revivals, those who were marginalized in the church leadership played an important role in leading the revival meetings. Compared to the Keswick convention, the role of women and young people in the Welsh Revival was

⁸⁷ *Cymro*(22 June 1905), 5. Quoted in Jones, *Faith and Crisis*, 327.

⁸⁸ Awstin, ‘The Religious Revival in Wales,’ *Western Mail* No.6, 3.

⁸⁹ Awstin, ‘The Religious Revival in Wales,’ *Western Mail* No.3, 24.

⁹⁰ David Matthews, *I Saw the Welsh Revival* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1951), 75.

⁹¹ Brynmor P. Jones, *Voices from the Welsh Revival 1904-1905* (Bridgend: Evangelical Press of Wales, 1995), 150.

remarkable. When Roberts held a revival meeting at Loughor, the young people responded with great eagerness to the revivalist's demand for surrender and consecration to the Lord.⁹² It gave the congregation a considerable shock when the young revivalist was seen to be accompanied by young women, who sat in the pulpit with him. This trend was also shown in the early British Pentecostal movement. For example, G. H. Lang, who was very critical of the tongues movement, criticised the early Pentecostalism for allowing time for women speakers, in particular Mary Boddy. He severely censured Pentecostalism for having women pastors, who, in I Timothy 2:12, are forbidden to speak in church.⁹³ With Pentecostalism's increased role for women came also greater importance for the working class. Some leaders came from the working class and most of the hearers were workers in Sunderland and Newcastle upon Tyne, both northern industrial areas.

Fourth, unlike the Keswick Convention, the revival had less influence on the Church of England than on other denominations, although there is no doubt that the Anglican Church was also under the influence of the revival.⁹⁴ Eifion Evans points out that the main revivals in Wales sprang up under the leadership of Nonconformists, namely, David Morgan, a Calvinistic Methodist who led the revival in 1859, and both Richard Owen and Evan Roberts, who came from the Presbyterian Church of Wales.⁹⁵ Apart from its leadership, the fruits of the Welsh Revival were for the Church of England far smaller than for the other denominations. Although the Church of England was also under the influence of the revival, it seems to have been on its periphery.⁹⁶ These were the most evident features of British Pentecostalism as a whole, though Pentecostalism must have had other features beyond these. The Pentecostal movement, as we have

⁹² Matthews, *I Saw the Welsh Revival*, 23.

⁹³ G. H. Lang, *The Earlier Years of the Modern Tongues Movement* (Somerset, 1958), 53.

⁹⁴ Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain*, 9.

⁹⁵ Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904*, 9.

⁹⁶ Orr, *Evangelical Awakening*, 46.

seen, was often blamed for the emotional cast of its meetings, with their stress on spontaneity and informality. Notwithstanding the upper-middle class origins of Boddy himself, an Anglican vicar who had been educated at Durham University,⁹⁷ it is obvious that marginalised people, such as women and the working class, had a significant role in the leadership of the new movement. In addition, the shift of leadership from Anglican upper class to non-Anglican lower class can be observed as the Pentecostal movement in Britain grew. As it appears that the Church of England was less influenced by the Revival than were the Nonconformist denominations, its members were correspondingly less involved in the Pentecostal movement than members of other denominations.

3.2. The Welsh Revival and Its Influence

Although the revival lasted less than a year, it left an abiding influence in many parts of Wales. First of all, with regard to the statistical results, the figure compiled by Awstin on 31 January 1905 shows that 70,199 had been converted in Wales since 8 November 1904.⁹⁸ The number continued to rise and reached more than 85,000 converts by the end of March.⁹⁹ It is even alleged that more than 100,000 were converted during the revival,¹⁰⁰ although there were criticisms that the rate at which people joined a church was low compared to past years, and the number of backsliders was high after the revival flame faded away.¹⁰¹

The impact on people's morals was remarkable. When the fever of the revival swept over mining areas, the life of the miners changed dramatically. A coal mine seems to

⁹⁷ Hollenweger believes that Boddy was an aristocrat. However Wakefield disagrees with Hollenweger on this term and depicts him as 'a university-educated member of the Victorian middle class.' Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 344; Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy*, 212.

⁹⁸ Awstin, 'The Religious Revival in Wales,' *Western Mail* No.3, 31-32.

⁹⁹ Penn-Lewis, *The Awakening in Wales 1904-1905*, 52.

¹⁰⁰ Morgan, *The Welsh Religious Revival*, 248-249; D. M. Phillips, *Evan Roberts, The Great Welsh Revivalist and His Work* (London: Marshall Brothers, n.d.), 455-462.

¹⁰¹ Jones, *Faith and Crisis*, 363.

have been the next thing to hell itself, as Matthews illustrates, but the revival transformed the manner and speech of the pitmen.¹⁰² The cases of drunkenness in Wales dropped by 33 per cent in the three years following the revival, and the consumption of alcohol was also reduced.¹⁰³ There is no doubt about the reduction in illegitimate births, crimes and many social malfunctions.¹⁰⁴

Apart from its impact on the social, moral and religious life of the Welsh, the revival had a significant impact on the emergence of Pentecostalism. It spread to all parts of the world, as well as to Britain and Europe, carried by returning visitors. In order to trace the connection between the Welsh Revival and Pentecostalism, Vinson Synan focuses on two ministers, Frank Bartleman and Joseph Smale, stressing their role in bringing the vigour of the revival to America, together with an emphasis on the speaking in tongues in revival meetings which is the hallmark of Pentecostalism.¹⁰⁵ For Synan it is important that Frank Bartleman was stirred when he heard about the great revival from F. B. Meyer on 8 April 1905 and Joseph Smale on 17 June and corresponded with Evan Roberts, asking his prayers for a revival in California. According to his account, Bartleman's promotion of a revival, together with Smale's, directed much attention to the prospect of a revival in the whole of Los Angeles and finally led to the Pentecostal revival in the city; later the revival returned to Europe, brought to England by Boddy and Barratt, in an even stronger form.¹⁰⁶

As Jones illustrates, the interest in the revival on the Anglican side grew greatly after the early months of 1905.¹⁰⁷ Among the Anglicans, Boddy made direct contact with

¹⁰² Matthews, *I Saw the Welsh Revival*, 55-58.

¹⁰³ Orr, *Flaming Tongue*, 18.

¹⁰⁴ Jones, *Faith and Crisis*, 366.

¹⁰⁵ Synan, *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition*, 114-117.

¹⁰⁶ Frank Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles: As It Was in the Beginning* (Los Angeles: 1925), 11-43.

¹⁰⁷ Jones, *Faith and Crisis*, 341.

Evan Roberts. When he heard about the revival in Wales in 1904, he went to Tonypandy to see how God was working in the revival. This would have been on 21 December 1904. According to Awstin, the revival meetings at Tonypandy were characterised by informality, spontaneity and quaintness. Although the organ was used, the sound was overwhelmed by the fervent singing which burst forth from the congregation. People spontaneously prayed here and there for many parts of the world in need of the same revival as that in Wales and expressed their emotion with tears.¹⁰⁸ Another striking feature of the meeting at Tonypandy was its cosmopolitan character. People came from different parts of Britain and even from South Africa, asking for prayer for the places in which they had been ministering.¹⁰⁹ It is certain that Boddy was much impressed by the scene. In his magazine *Confidence* he recollected:

Then followed a remarkable prayer meeting. The enthusiasm was extraordinary, and on two or three occasions two persons were praying at the same time, whilst after almost each prayer Mr. Boddy struck up a Gospel hymn chorus. ¹¹⁰

Furthermore, he fortunately had a chance to make direct contact with Evan Roberts and received a message from him to give to the saints in Sunderland. Evan Roberts said, with his hand on the Bible in his breast, 'Tell them to believe the promises, believe the Book. They must fight heaven down. Bring it down now and here. Fight it down.'¹¹¹

Thomas Ball Barratt, another pivotal leader who brought Pentecostalism to Europe, equally must not be ignored. He was much inspired by hearing about the revival in Wales and its leader. He held midday meetings to pray for a revival across Norway and wrote a letter to Evan Roberts on 2 January 1905 to ask his prayers for this too.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Awstin, 'The Religious Revival in Wales,' *Western Mail* No.2, 15-16.

¹⁰⁹ Awstin, 'The Religious Revival in Wales,' *Western Mail* No.2, 16.

¹¹⁰ Alexander A. Boddy, 'The Pentecostal Movement,' *Confidence* Vol.III No.8 (August, 1910), 193.

¹¹¹ Alexander A. Boddy, *Pentecost at Sunderland, A Vicar's Testimony* (Sunderland: May 1909), 5.

¹¹² Barratt, *When the Fire fell*, 95-97.

Others who later became pivotal figures in the Pentecostal movement were directly affected by the Welsh Revival. They include the following: Daniel Powell Williams, the founder of the Apostolic Church, who worked in a coal mine where he was seriously injured, resulting in scars and lifelong physical weakness. A series of spiritual experiences led him to be a devoted minister. On Christmas Day of 1904 at Loughor, he experienced the presence of God. When Evan Roberts laid his hands on him he fell to the floor, repenting of his sins. It was so extraordinary that he claimed that he was saved that day;¹¹³ Stephen Jeffreys, another coal miner of Nantyffyllon, was converted at Siloh Chapel on 20 November 1904 at the age of 28 by the preaching of Rev. Glasnant Jones. He became a devoted member of the church after he experienced unforgettable blessing during the Welsh Revival;¹¹⁴ Donald Gee, who was destined to become the chairman of the World Pentecostal Conference in 1964 and became a leading figure in the charismatic renewal movement, was one of the three converts when Seth Joshua held a revival meeting in London.¹¹⁵ The revival gave future Pentecostal leaders the ardent desire for a new revival, as Boddy believed:

The Welsh Revival was a time of “*conversion*,” and was intended by the Lord as a preparation for the Baptism of the Holy Ghost as on the Day of Pentecost, and at Cæsarea, etc. We did not mean to go back, but to go forward still further. The Lord always has something better beyond.¹¹⁶

In conclusion, as observed above, British Pentecostalism inherited some of the characteristics of the Welsh Revival. In addition, some major leaders of British Pentecostalism were either directly or indirectly influenced by the Welsh Revival. Some of them experienced conversion and others had intense aspirations for another revival to take place when they visited the scenes of the revival in Wales. Therefore, it is no

¹¹³ James E. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain* (Wellington, New Zealand: Julian Literature Trust, 1991), 12-13.

¹¹⁴ Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers*, 47.

¹¹⁵ Brian Robert Ross, ‘Donald Gee: In Search of a Church; Sectarian in Transition,’ (Th.D. Thesis, Knox College, Toronto, 1974), 3-4; *Ibid.*, 77.

¹¹⁶ Boddy, ‘The Pentecostal Movement,’ 194.

exaggeration to say that the birth of British Pentecostalism resulted from this earnest desire for a new revival, which maintained the vigour of the Welsh Revival.¹¹⁷ What is more, as the next chapter shows, the debate over Pentecostalism between the pivotal Pentecostals and Penn-Lewis was important in forming the characteristics of British Pentecostalism. The first generation of the British Pentecostal movement emphasised the continuity between itself and the Welsh Revival in order to establish the soundness of Pentecostalism; meanwhile, the evangelicals sought to isolate the Pentecostal movement from the evangelical society, considering it a heretical sect.

4. The Influx of Classical Pentecostalism

4.1. The Tongues Movement in Los Angeles

There has been some controversy on the origin of Pentecostalism. First, Elmer T. Clark argues that the Pentecostal movement started in 1886 (or 1892) when R. G. Spurling, a Baptist preacher, and his son led a ‘holiness revival;’ however, Nils Bloch-Hoell disagreed with this view because speaking in tongues was thought to be not the sign of Spirit baptism but evidence of sanctification, although tongues were manifested.¹¹⁸ Some consider that it began at the Bethel Bible School in Topeka on the first day of January 1901, when Agnes Ozman began to speak in tongues and subsequently Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929) started to teach that the speaking in tongues is the initial and outward evidence of the baptism of the Spirit. He made the manifestation of speaking in tongues the prerequisite for the baptism of the Spirit.¹¹⁹ This opinion has received wide

¹¹⁷ When George and Stephen Jeffreys conducted successful Pentecostal meetings in Wales in 1913, Stephen was considered to be another Evan Roberts. *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.2 (February 1913), 28.

¹¹⁸ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 18; H. D. Hunter, ‘Tomlinson, Ambrose Jessup,’ In *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement*. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Mass (eds.) (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 1143-1145.

¹¹⁹ Vinson Synan claims that Parham made *glossolalia*, unknown tongues, the only evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. However, *xenolalia*, foreign languages, were dominantly manifested during this time. Parham believed that *xenolalia* was given to the true believers to allow them to preach the gospel to all nations without wasting time in studying a foreign language. See Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, 89; Gaston Espinosa, ‘Ordinary Prophet, William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street

support, including that of Bloch-Hoell.¹²⁰ In particular, Goff argues, claiming Topeka as the origin, that Azusa inherited the doctrine of initial evidence, premillennial eschatology and the understanding of the *xenolalia* as missionary tongues before the return of Christ.¹²¹ On the contrary, some argue that the real birth place of global Pentecostalism was the Azusa Street Mission through which people from many countries whether directly or indirectly contacted Pentecostalism, denouncing the role of Charles Parham as a White supremacist and also British Israelism, which is the claim that the Anglo-Saxons are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel following the Babylonian Exile. They go on to argue that the Azusa Street Mission of William J. Seymour was the central impetus for worldwide Pentecostalism, although Parham's formula became the central doctrine of the Pentecostal movement. In particular, Harvey Cox supports this opinion. He argues that the Pentecostal movement initiated the revival not in Topeka but in Los Angeles under the leadership of William Seymour, because *glossolalia* has been documented in virtually every period of religious enthusiasm since St. Paul both commended it and warned about its excesses.¹²² Therefore, according to Harvey Cox, speaking in tongues is not a striking feature of the Pentecostal movement, but rather the breaking down of racial and ethnic barriers can be one of its essential factors of the movement. Hollenweger also supports the Azusa origin of Pentecostalism.¹²³

Revival,' in *The Azusa Street Revival and Its Legacy*, Herold D. Hunter and Cecil M. Robeck Jr (Cleveland, Tennessee: Pathway Press, 2006), 33.

¹²⁰ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 191-192, footnote 3.

¹²¹ James R. Jr. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest* (Fayetteville London: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 132-133.

¹²² Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 149.

¹²³ Hollenweger also supports Cox's opinion based on the following reasons. First, he argues, quoting from Russel Spittler, that *glossolalia* can not be the essence of Pentecostalism because it is 'not limited to Christianity nor even to religious behaviour.' Second, he believes that features of Parham's theology, such as pacifism, his doctrine of the 'destruction of the wicked,' his refusal of medicine, his Anglo-Israelism and white supremacy are contradicted by Pentecostalism. Third, Seymour's influence on global Pentecostalism was more remarkable than Parham's contribution. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 18-24.

While the claims above acknowledge the American origin of Pentecostalism, Anderson argues that Pentecostalism has no single birthplace. He claims that many countries have their own histories of Pentecostalism with a different starting point, even though we cannot deny that the classical Pentecostalism from America had a significant role in spreading the global Pentecostalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. He criticises what many writers have done in accepting the American-initiated theory of global Pentecostalism; ignored the achievements of local workers and women which have been ignored by the Western missionaries. He cautions:

Bearing in mind that many studies are intentionally American in focus – and at the risk of oversimplification – most histories declare or imply that Pentecostalism, fanning out from the western world and particularly from the USA, grew and expanded in Asia, Africa, the Pacific, the Caribbean and Latin America....¹²⁴

This controversy is closely related with the difficulty of defining Pentecostalism. Hollenweger initially defined the term ‘Pentecostals’ as ‘all the groups who profess at least two religious crisis experiences (1) baptism or rebirth (2) the baptism of the Spirit, the second being subsequent to and different from the first’ and ‘usually, but not always, being associated with speaking in tongues.’¹²⁵ Later, he changed his view, considering that the previous definition ‘seems to be inadequate.’¹²⁶ He adopted the broader definition of Vinson Synan: ‘All Pentecostals agree on the presence and demonstration of the charismata in the modern church, but beyond this common agreement there is much diversity as in all the other branches of Christianity.’¹²⁷ Similarly, Anderson also takes a broader definition of Pentecostalism, devaluing the significance of speaking in tongues. He asserts that ‘the term “Pentecostal” is appropriate for describing globally all

¹²⁴ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 5-6.

¹²⁵ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, xix.

¹²⁶ Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 327.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

churches and movements that emphasise the working of the gifts of the Spirit, both on phenomenological and on theological grounds.’¹²⁸ In his definition, speaking in tongues is not the only hallmark of the baptism of the Holy Spirit but one manifestation of the many gifts of the Spirit. According to their definitions, these scholars included several religious phenomena which the early Pentecostals such as Boddy never thought of as a form of Pentecostalism, and this broadens the scope of Pentecostalism.¹²⁹ However, for the early Pentecostals, the appearance of speaking in tongues was the most important factor in defining Pentecostalism and made them believe that they were experiencing a new spiritual power from God which other denominations had long neglected. The British Pentecostals also confirmed this point when they first came into contact with Pentecostalism.

4.2. T. B. Barratt : The Bridge of British Pentecostalism

It was T. B. Barratt who was the catalyst between Boddy and classical Pentecostalism. Thomas Ball Barratt, the leader of Pentecostalism in Norway, was born in Cornwall, England on 22 July 1862 to Wesleyan Methodist parents. His grandfather was also a determined Wesleyan who once was in the van of the attack on Unitarianism.¹³⁰ Following his father’s decision to take up a manager’s post in a mine, his family moved to Norway. However, because his parents wanted Barratt to study at a Wesleyan school, he held firm to Wesleyan beliefs. Together with this background, the revivalism of

¹²⁸ Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 13.

¹²⁹ For example, Hollenweger, basing his view on the Ph.D. thesis of his student, Boo-Woong Yoo, included the fundamental form of Korean revivals, Mysticism and Minjung theology, excluding the Pentecostal denominations such as the Yoido Full Gospel Church. However, most of the Pentecostal leaders of the Korean Pentecostal denominations and the Minjung theologians do not consider that the three can be grouped with Pentecostalism. Unfortunately, Yoo’s opinion has spread to many, including Harvey Cox. I firmly believe that it needs to be reconsidered. Boo-Woong Yoo, ‘Korean Pentecostalism-Its History and Theology’ (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1987); Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 99-105; Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 213-241. Although Anderson rightly includes the Pentecostal denominations in the category of Pentecostalism, he also claims that the Korean revivals and Yong-do Lee’s mysticism, which were defined as ‘the Korean Holy Spirit movement’ by Young Hoon Lee, are Korean forms of Pentecostalism. See Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 136-139; *Spreading Fires*, 140-142.

¹³⁰ Barratt, *When the Fire Fell*, 5-9.

Moody strongly influenced Barratt's inclination towards revivalism. He recalls in his autobiography that he used to read Moody's sermons, which made him concentrate on the work of the Holy Spirit.¹³¹

Unlike Boddy, who saw the Welsh Revival with his own eyes, Barratt could learn of it only indirectly through letters. In the midst of the revival, he printed accounts of the revival fever in Wales in his paper, *Byposten* which was started in late February of 1904. The midday prayer meetings, which he held in his desire for a revival in Norway led him, as noted above, to ask for Roberts' prayers for this in January, 1904, but it was during his visit to America during 1905-1906 in order to raise funds for a new building for the centre of the City Mission that he encountered Pentecostalism. However, his failure to raise enough money and also the news that his mother had died depressed him, but the news of a religious revival in Los Angeles inspired him to seek the same baptism of the Spirit that he had experienced in the city. At the time, he gave an account of the revival in *Byposten* under the following headline: 'Pentecost Afresh. Los Angeles is now visited by a revival, which reminds us of the revival described in Acts II.'¹³²

Soon after he heard the news of this revival in Los Angeles he sent several letters to request prayers for himself and received letters from brothers in the city, which emphasised the need for speaking in tongues as evidence of Spirit baptism. At the time it was hotly debated among Pentecostals in Los Angeles whether speaking in tongues was a necessary sign of the Pentecostal blessing. The letter sent by G. A. Cook dated 15 October shows that many Pentecostals in Los Angeles had argued that the Pentecostal experience could come without tongues. However, the writer himself firmly insisted that their power was limited and imperfect, and they could only wait to receive speaking

¹³¹ Ibid., 31-35.

¹³² Ibid., 103.

in tongues.¹³³ This stipulation of speaking in tongues as a sign of full empowerment for ministers made Barratt seek the gift and its accompanying emotions, for example, the sense of fire falling from heaven. Eventually, he received baptism with the Holy Spirit on 15 November, 1906 when he attended a meeting in New York led by a woman who had received Spirit baptism with the gift of tongues. He describes his experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit:

The very same moment, my being was filled with light and an indescribable power, and I began to speak in a foreign language as loudly as I could. For a long time I was lying upon my back on the floor, speaking – afterward I was moving about on my knees with eyes shut. For some time this went on; then at last I sat on a chair, and the whole time I spoke in “divers kinds of tongues”... When speaking some of these languages there was an aching in my vocal chords. I am sure that I spoke seven or eight languages.¹³⁴

Thereafter, he became the pivotal figure in the European Pentecostal Movement and many ministers from other countries were able to share the same blessing through his efforts.

The Pentecostal theology of Barratt can be outlined as follows. First, he attached much importance to speaking in tongues as the most powerful instrument of revival and also to the gift of prophecy for the benefit of the hearers.¹³⁵ For Barratt, the tongues, as a gift of the Spirit, were an endowment from the Holy Spirit for the purpose of reinvigorating the churches. Quoting from Arther’s *Tongues of Fire*, he insisted that the revivals in church history and the gift of tongues were always related:

¹³³ Ibid., 123; David Bundy, ‘Spiritual Advice to a Seeker: Letters to T. B. Barratt from Azusa Street, 1906,’ *Pneuma* Vol. 14, No. 2 (Fall, 1992), 164.

¹³⁴ Barratt, *When the Fire Fell*, 129-130.

¹³⁵ T. B. Barratt, *In the Days of the Latter Rain* (London: Elim Publishing, 1928), 53-54.

In asking what was her power we can find no other answer than this one: **“The tongue of Fire!** “Religion has never, in any period, sustained itself except by the instrumentality of the tongue of fire ... In many periods of the history of the church, as this gift has waned, *every natural advantage has come to replace it*: more learning, more system, more calmness, more profoundness of reflection ... everything in fact, which, according to the ordinary rules of human thought, would insure to the Christian Church a great command over the intellect of mankind - yet it has ever proved that the gain of all this, when accompanied *with an abatement of the fire*, has left the Church less efficient. [Bold and italic in the original]¹³⁶

Second, he suggests that speaking in tongues, for Pentecostals, has a sacramental function, which is one way in which to encounter the presence of God. In this regard he may be a pioneer of Pentecostal theology. Some Pentecostal theologians have recently argued that tongues, as in the Pentecostal experience, could be the Pentecostal sacrament which parallels baptism and the Eucharist in Catholic theology.¹³⁷ For Barratt, tongues are a medium between God and believers. God reveals His presence through tongues as well as being exalted by tongues. Barratt says:

But very often the tongues are great anthems of praise to God, that “transcend the common level of speech and rise, like the Magnificat, into the region of poetry,” or as another has said: “Pentecost is a baptism of praise, coming over the balconies of heaven from the glorified presence of our Saviour, having an unmistakeable relation to His glorification, which fills us with His glory, striking up chords of praise we never dreamed existed in our soul, and finding adequate expression only in the tongues, which come with it from the scenes of heavenly praise and adoration above. It is the earnest of our inheritance of eternal praise and worship.”¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Ibid., 78-79.

¹³⁷ Frank D. Macchia, ‘Tongue as a Sign: Toward a Sacramental Understanding of Pentecostal Experience,’ *Pneuma* Vol.15, No.1 (Spring, 1993), 61-76.

¹³⁸ Barratt, *When the Fire Fell*, 89.

4.3. Boddy's Encounter with Pentecostalism

Boddy had been a seeker after revival for many years. In particular, he held Thursday Night meetings at All Saints' Vestry for several months with so-called 'fellow watchmen' for revival in 1906. He believed that his visit to Norway in March 1907 was God's answer to 'the very prolonged cry for a Pentecost with scripture evidence.'¹³⁹ He recalls:

We praised God for this first answer to prayer for Revival and took courage. At last the Lord led me into touch with this work of God which now had travelled over the Atlantic to Norway. A blessing had followed my visit to the Rhondda Valley, so I prayed Him to lead me to Christiania, and that if this was His work it might soon spread to our land. In a most remarkable way He arranged for the journey and undertook during my absence.¹⁴⁰

Hearing the news of the revival at Barratt's meetings, Boddy went across the North Sea to Norway on the second day of March, 1907 to see with his own eyes the Pentecostal revival in Oslo, where he stayed for four days. He encountered the presence of God which was a never-to-be-forgotten occasion for Boddy, like the day of Pentecost. He says 'My four days in Christiania cannot be forgotten. I stood with Evan Roberts at the Ton-y-pandy meetings, but never have I witnessed such scenes as in Norway, and soon I believe they will be witnessed in England.'¹⁴¹ It is more than likely that Boddy considered his experience at Barratt's meeting to be his Pentecost. About 120 people gathered at a mission room in an upper chamber where he witnessed young as well as older people speaking in tongues with visions and prophecies. Nearly everyone proclaimed the imminent second coming of Jesus Christ, captivated by the Holy Spirit.

Boddy asked those who had received the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues to pray by the laying on of hands and also preached about the power of the Holy Spirit

¹³⁹ A. A. Boddy, 'Speaking in Tongues,' *Leaflets on "Tongues," No. 1* (Sunderland, n.d.), 1.

¹⁴⁰ Boddy, *Pentecost at Sunderland, A Vicar's Testimony*, 8-9.

¹⁴¹ A. A. Boddy, 'Tongues in Norway,' *Leaflets on "Tongue" No. 6* (Sunderland: n.d.), 1.

and healing as the gift of the Spirit.¹⁴² It impressed the Norwegians who were present because it was unusual for them to have on the platform an English clergyman as their main speaker.¹⁴³ When Boddy preached in *Turnhallen* on 3 March 1907, those who were present were much surprised by the fact that Boddy, who was thought by the Norwegians to be a Catholic priest, sought the baptism of the Holy Spirit.¹⁴⁴

On the way to England Boddy pondered the tongues in Norway, comparing the Scriptures. His conclusions can be summarised as follows:

- (1) With regard to the character of speaking in tongues, it could be both in known languages and unknown ones. Tongues could be accompanied by interpretation, but a tongue without interpretation is also possible.
- (2) Speaking in tongues gives indescribable joy.
- (3) It produces the deepest love for Christ and other souls.
- (4) Speaking in tongues makes meetings strangely attractive to both saints and sinners.
- (5) The penitent form is the outstanding feature of those who speak in tongues in the presence of God.¹⁴⁵

Both Boddy and Barratt believed that speaking in tongues was unmistakable evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which had been the nucleus of the experiences of the classical Pentecostals. Revivalism needs a centripetal means to sustain the new movement and to prevent its fervour from withering. In this respect, speaking in tongues was the core value that the Pentecostals could not have renounced. Both Boddy and Barratt thought that speaking in tongues would be the best way to a new revival. However, while Barratt laid stress on speaking in tongues as a gift for invigorating

¹⁴² Boddy, *Pentecost at Sunderland: A Vicar's Testimony*, 8-9.

¹⁴³ Barratt, *When the Fire Fell*, 145.

¹⁴⁴ T. B. Barratt, *Erindringer* (n.p., n.d.), 154.

¹⁴⁵ Boddy, 'Tongues in Norway,' 3.

churches, Boddy emphasised not only tongues as one of the gifts but also love as a fruit of the Holy Spirit. It is noteworthy that from the beginning of Pentecostalism Boddy very much focused on love. Later, love was more stressed than tongues in order to emphasise the need for unity within the Pentecostal camp.

The theology of love which Boddy stressed was linked with his emphasis on Christology. It seems that he always underlined Jesus Christ as the Saviour and His Blood as an honour. As the next chapter shows, Boddy often wrote articles on the blood and the death of Christ. In contrast to the classical Pentecostals, who always accentuate the role of the Holy Spirit as the gift's Giver, Boddy laid more stress on Christ as the Saviour, though he did not disregard the importance of the gifts of the Spirit. The discrepancy between Boddy and other Pentecostals rose to the surface when some non-Anglican Pentecostals took a leading role in the early Pentecostal movement.

With regard to the origin of Pentecostalism, Boddy always acknowledged its American origin, in particular Los Angeles and, in contrast, does not mention the name of Parham in *Confidence*. Cornelis van der Laan concludes on this point that 'in the early British and Dutch periodicals, the Topeka event and Parham are completely absent, while Azusa Street plays a very important role as the place where the fire first fell and from where it spread over the world.'¹⁴⁶ German Pentecostals preferred the Topeka of Parham to the Azusa Street of Seymour, influenced by the evangelicals who criticised the choice of Los Angeles as the origin of the Pentecostal movement, where many evil spiritual events had arisen.¹⁴⁷ Boddy did not deny the Azusa origin of Pentecostalism as the German evangelicals did, despite criticisms by the British evangelicals.¹⁴⁸ Rather, he tried to heal the division between Seymour and Durham at Azusa Street over

¹⁴⁶ Cornelis van der Laan, 'What Good Can Come From Los Angeles?' in *The Azusa Street Revival and Its Legacy*, Harold D. Hunter and Cecil M. Robeck Jr (eds.) (Cleveland: Pathway Press, 2006), 159.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 155-159.

¹⁴⁸ Such as Alfred T. Schofield and Jessie Penn-Lewis. See Chapter Three.

the controversy of the Finished Work, and issued a resolution urging unity in the Pentecostal movement.¹⁴⁹

5. Conclusion

The four factors which have been examined above significantly influenced the evolving character of British Pentecostalism. As far as Anglicanism is concerned, it seems that the spiritual freedom and ecumenical inclination of Anglicanism, which may be seen as Anglican characteristics, perhaps made it easy for Boddy to ally himself with Nonconformist ministers. However, at the same time they also became an obstacle to Boddy's retaining a Pentecostal spirituality. It is reasonable to suppose that Pentecostalism became acceptable to Christian societies in Britain because the suspicion of extraordinary features in Pentecostalism was allayed by presenting it as an aspect of Anglican revivalism, since Anglicanism was more respectable in Victorian and Edwardian Britain than any other sect. However, respectability as a feature of its early days was no longer needed once Pentecostalism had established its influence. The influence of Boddy in the Pentecostal movement rapidly declined from this point.

With regard to the influence of the Keswick Convention, it seems that Boddy wanted the Pentecostal movement to take it as a model. As seen above, such characteristics of Keswick as the Anglican initiative in its leadership and its ecumenical inclination, were parallel to those of the early Pentecostal movement.

While Keswick affected the outward form of Pentecostalism, the Welsh Revival had a very similar content to that of Pentecostalism. The emotionalism, spontaneity and informality which were outstanding during the Welsh Revival were also astounding and became the main target of the revival's critics. Moreover, the fruits of the revival

¹⁴⁹ *Confidence* Vol.V, No.11 (November 1912), 244-246.

outside the Church of England far outweighed those of the Pentecostal movement, for the Church of England bore less fruit from the Welsh Revival than any other denomination. Finally, this result led the majority of Pentecostals to set up new Pentecostal denominations without any Anglican participation. It may be said that setting up new Pentecostal denominations after Boddy's withdrawal from Pentecostalism was a form of disestablishment within the Pentecostal movement.

Although the Keswick convention and the Welsh Revival significantly influenced evangelical society and the formation of British Pentecostalism, the Pentecostal manifestations which Boddy witnessed in Oslo were more remarkable than his experiences at Keswick and the Welsh Revival. As a result, he propagated the Pentecostal movement to evangelical society in the firm belief that the Pentecostal movement was sent from God to revitalise the churches. His claim faced severe criticism from the evangelical side, though the movement had its adherents, as the next chapter shows.

CHAPTER THREE

SETTLING DOWN OF NASCENT PENTECOSTALISM

1. Time of Evangelicalism Dominance

Bebbington asserts that ‘between 1850 and 1900 the evangelical movement was a dominant force in the English-speaking world.’¹ To be accepted by the evangelical society was a key element in the success of revival movement in such a formative period. Boddy as the bearer of Pentecostalism believed that the churches in Britain would be revived by the fire of the Pentecostal movement, so, as he wrote in *Confidence*, he hoped that ‘very quickly this Outpouring of the Holy Spirit would be gladly received by many leading teachers of Great Britain.’² Boddy’s main concern in these periods was to propagandise the soundness of Pentecostalism to the Christians in Britain.

1.1. Boddy and His Effort to Spread the Pentecostal Movement

As soon as Boddy returned from Norway, he made efforts to disseminate Pentecostalism widely throughout Britain. First of all, he wrote three articles, one for *The Record*, entitled ‘*Glossolalia* in Christiana’ and two for *The Layman* and *The Christian*, in the form of reports on the revival in Scandinavia.³ In *The Record* of 28 March, Boddy deplored the impotence of the church in his day and urged the need for the power from on high. As to the criticism that the Pentecostals sought tongues, he asserted that instead they sought ‘the Holy Ghost’; the tongues in the Pentecostal meetings showed that the Holy Spirit had come into ‘a fuller possession than ever before.’⁴ Moreover, to counter the criticism that the Pentecostal movement is a form of spiritualism, Boddy retorted that the gift of speaking in tongues made those who

¹ David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2005), 249.

² *Confidence* Vol.III, No.8 (August 1910), 195.

³ *Confidence* Vol.III, No.8 (August 1910), 194.

⁴ *The Record* (28 March 1907), 275.

received it love and adore Christ as Lord, and the Blood of Christ was the honoured theme in their prayer and praise.⁵

However, in May 1907, *The Christian*, an influential British weekly magazine, published a series of hostile articles entitled ‘Speaking with Tongues.’⁶ The writer was A. T. Pierson, a regular speaker in the Keswick movement, which gave him prominence. The judgement of Pierson was prudent. As editor of the missionary magazine, *The Missionary Review of the World*, he judges the Pentecostal movement by its fruits. His main attack on the movement was on *glossolalia* (unknown tongues). It is obvious that he does not directly deny the possibility of speaking in tongues. Nevertheless, he argues that *glossolalia* is not edifying but a hindrance to the hearer unless interpretation follows. It is also open to counterfeit imitation and the human hypnotism of the Pentecostal leaders drives women, who are prone to be whipped up by emotionalism, to fanaticism. Therefore, speaking in tongues in itself without interpretation should be suppressed rather than encouraged.⁷ As for the Pentecostals’ claim that the re-appearance of speaking in tongues in the line of succession of such gifts in the Apostolic church, he says, ‘we have not heard of one case in which it has been used to preach the Gospel to anyone of another tongues, and of two cases in which any intelligible message was uttered. In almost all cases the utterance has been unintelligible alike to speaker or hearer.’⁸ Here, he denies the existence of *xenolalia* (authentic languages), which some Pentecostals saw as being endowed by the Holy Spirit of the power to speak in a foreign language for missionary works.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The series of A. T. Pierson’s articles in *the Christian* were republished later in his own magazine with minor changes. *The Missionary Review of the World* (July 1907), 487-492.

⁷ *The Christian* (9 May 1907), 10-11; (16 May 1907), 12.

⁸ *The Christian* (23 May 1907), 11.

Robert evaluates highly the role played by A. T. Pierson in developing of Pentecostalism. She claims that ‘by the promotion of Keswick theology, the Welsh Revival and even faith healing, A. T. Pierson made an important contribution to the origin of Pentecostalism, even as he repudiated the Pentecostal’s claim that tongues speaking was the “sign” of the Holy Spirit baptism.’⁹ However, it is obvious that to Pentecostals his articles were not welcoming but baffling. There is no doubt that his articles forced Boddy to write counter-articles under the same title, which at the same time provoked controversies between the supporters and opponents of the movement. In defence of speaking with tongues, Boddy asserted from his experience in Norway that 1) it is a true way to worship God; 2) it attracts people’s attention to church, though not to conversion; 3) it can be prophetic if followed by interpretation; 4) the Blood was honoured in every meeting; 5) it is neither the least of the gifts nor counterfeit, as its critics argue.¹⁰ Among his readers, Sir Robert Anderson,¹¹ who believed that miracles ceased after the Apostolic period, responded to Boddy’s articles, expressing regret that the editor of *The Christian* had published them in an evangelical magazine. He not only identified the Pentecostal movement with Spiritualism and Christian Science, but also proscribed it as a more dangerous sect because ‘it accepts Evangelical truth which those other systems [Spiritualism and Christian Science] deny.’¹²

As part of his endeavours, Boddy wrote a pamphlet called ‘Pentecost for England (and other lands)’ and distributed a thousand copies of it at Keswick in July 1907. In the pamphlet he distinguished between the fullness of the Spirit and Spirit baptism.

⁹ Robert, *Occupy until I Come*, 264.

¹⁰ *The Christian* (1 August 1907), 23; (8 August 1907), 25.

¹¹ Sir Robert Anderson (1841-1918) was Assistant Commissioner (Crime) of the London Metropolitan Police from 1888 to 1901 and a prolific writer of theological books, including *The Silence of God*, *The Coming Prince*, *The Bible and Modern Criticism* and *Human Destiny*. He was well-known among evangelicals and had a close relationship with some prominent ones, including James Martin Gray, Cyrus Scofield, A. C. Dixon and Handley Moule. He also preached with John Nelson Darby. *The Missionary Review of the World* (September 1907), 684; Sir Robert Anderson, *The Bible and Modern Criticism* (London: James Nisbet & Co., Ltd., n.d.), iii-viii.

¹² *The Christian* (15 August 1907), 13.

Speaking in tongues is evidence of the Baptism of the Spirit.¹³ At the same time, he stressed that the Blood of Christ had been honoured at every Pentecostal meeting that he had attended. It seems that, for him, the emphasis on the Blood was one of the important ways of avoiding opposition to Pentecostalism. Focusing on the role of the Blood, he also stressed the unity which is a result of Spirit Baptism:

Sanctification brings unity of spirit. Christ prayed that they might be sanctified that they might be one; they became one, therefore we know they were sanctified. But it is the Baptism that places into one body, effectuating unity. For by one Spirit are ye baptised into one body (1 Cor. xii, 13). Therefore, the restoration of Pentecost means ultimately, the restoration of Christian unity...¹⁴

1.2. T. B. Barratt, Inflamer of the Pentecostal Movement

In addition to his own efforts to propagate the movement, Boddy pressed Barratt to visit Sunderland in order to lead Pentecostal meetings. Barratt's visit, beginning on the last day of August 1907,¹⁵ significantly influenced the British Pentecostal movement. Following the Anglican tradition, on the following Sunday, Boddy held a Communion service with full rites, although his sympathies were Low Church. Barratt was also able to preach in the church after Evensong, as ministers who were not ordained in the Church of England were allowed to do.¹⁶ However, most of the Pentecostal meetings apart from those on Sundays were held in the vicarage or the parish hall.

Before Barratt's arrival in Sunderland, seventeen people had received the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues. However, during Barratt's stay at Sunderland Boddy's family, apart from Boddy himself (who received speaking in tongues on 2 December), received their baptism in the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues. Among Boddy's

¹³ Alexander A. Boddy, *Pentecost for England, (and other lands) with Signs following* (n.d.), 3, 8.

¹⁴ Boddy, *Pentecost for England*, 10.

¹⁵ T. B. Barratt, 'Diary (My Visit to England),' DGC, Boddy File, 2.

¹⁶ Barratt, *Erindringer*, 168.

immediate family, his wife was the first person to receive this gift. Boddy's brother-in-law, James Pollock, had received the Spirit baptism some days before 17 September.¹⁷ Subsequently, Boddy's two daughters, Mary and Jane, received the speaking in tongues on 21 September at the vicarage.¹⁸

Barratt's visit to Sunderland to conduct the Pentecostal meetings was reported in *The Christian*.¹⁹ It was the Pentecostal meetings led by Barratt in his vicarage which attracted public attention, after reports in several newspapers. The *Sunderland Daily Echo* was the first to report the Pentecostal meeting at All Saints' church. Its account on 30 September, 1907 was that 1) unknown tongues had been spoken; 2) the majority of participants of the revival meetings were women; and 3) the strong emotionalism in the meetings was a striking feature.²⁰ Soon after the report, other newspapers gave accounts of the revival meetings with sensational headlines, for example, "Revival Scene" Weird Services in Sunderland Mission Hall,²¹ 'Remarkable Religious Service at Sunderland,'²² "Revivals" Pastor Barratt on the Strange Manifestation²³ etc. These sensational titles in the newspapers were enough to attract public attention and to provoke direct and intense opposition.

¹⁷ Barratt, 'Diary,' 4.

¹⁸ Jane Vazeille Boddy, 'Testimony of a vicar's daughter,' *Confidence*, No.2 (May 1908), 6-7.

¹⁹ *The Christian* (29 August 1907), 25.

²⁰ 'A Revival, Monkwearmouth Stirred,' *Sunderland Daily Echo* (30 September 1907), 3.

²¹ *The Daily Chronicle* (2 October 1907), 5.

²² *The Newcastle Daily Journal* (3 October 1907), 6.

²³ *The Daily Chronicle* (12 October 1907), 3

1.3. Direct Criticism in the Initial Periods

1.3.1. The Relationship between the Pentecostal Movement and the Pentecostal League of Prayer

After the newspaper reports, strong opposition to the Pentecostal movement came from many sides. At this early stage, criticism of the Pentecostal movement was mainly against the manifestation of speaking in tongues, which was judged by critics to be a counterfeit or hypocritical form of behaviour.

First of all, Reader Harris (1847-1909), the founder of the interdenominational Christian union the Pentecostal League of Prayer (hereafter, PLP), though he had praised the Welsh revival, with all its excesses and paroxysms,²⁴ argued that speaking in tongues was the least valuable gift of the Holy Spirit. Harris, brought up in the Church of England, had been an Engineer-in-Chief in the government of the Republic of Bolivia (1872-1879) before becoming a barrister at the Parliamentary Bar (1883-1909). About 1879, a great change took place in his life. Hearing of the illness of his mother in England, he was given six months' leave by the Bolivian government to visit her. But his ship, *Tacna*, had left the port of Mollendo when he arrived, which made him blaspheme. However, he could only give thanks to God when he learned that the *Tacna* had been wrecked and all the passengers were drowned. Later, in 1883, the wife of his tailor sent him a copy of his diary, in which he records praying for the salvation of Reader Harris. The knowledge that the tailor had been praying not for his own advantage but for a customer's gave him a great shock, and transformed him from agnosticism to an ardent believer in the work of the Holy Spirit.²⁵

²⁴ Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, 123.

²⁵ Mary Reader Hooker, *Adventures of an Agnostic: Life and Letters of Reader Harris, Q.C.* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1959), 97-100.

The League was formed in 1891 as an interdenominational union of Christians for revival, and its centres spread rapidly throughout the British Isles. According to *Tongues of Fire*, the official magazine of the League, by 1897 the number of members had increased to 13,243. One year later, there were 30 centres in London and more than 100 centres in the provinces, where weekly meetings were being held. Among these, Plymouth and Sunderland were particularly strong.²⁶

Boddy had had a close connection with the PLP although at first he did not agree with its methods and doctrines. He mentioned his relationship with the League in a letter to the Bishop of Durham:

Then lastly a very personal matter, I am a humble member of the Pentecostal League of Prayer in the Holy Spirit. I do not like all the methods of its leaders, nor the body in which the doctrines they teach are often enunciated. But I have been drawn to join it because of their whole heartedness in loving and honouring God's word, in holding up my crucified and ascended Lord as our life in the power of the Holy Spirit - and this done never - to limit God's power by unbelief in His promises. I rarely put the Pentecostal League forward, but I have a quiet meeting in this vicarage every week and I take part also in its central meetings.²⁷

Boddy eventually became a strong supporter of the League, and took the office of secretary of its Monkwearmouth centre.²⁸

It is obvious that the teaching of the League was on the same lines as that of the holiness movement. Harris had a connection with Keswick leaders. In 1893, he spoke with Moule at the Home Union Conference at Grindelwald, organised by the Wesleyan Henry Lunn, and invited Dr. Pierson as a prominent Keswick leader, to give the main

²⁶ Hooker, *Adventures of an Agnostic*, 115-116.

²⁷ A. A. Boddy to the Bishop of Durham (10 December 1901), Auckland Castle Episcopal Records in Durham University Library Archive, AUC 2 Box 9, 8.

²⁸ Ian M. Randall, 'The Pentecostal League of Prayer: A Transdenominational British Wesleyan-Holiness Movement,' http://wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyan_theology/theojrnl/31-35/33-1-10.htm#_edn14.

address when he held a meeting in Exeter Hall. In particular, Moule's book, *Union with Christ* gave him a profound appreciation of redemption by Christ.²⁹

The teaching of the League was much focused on the work of the Holy Spirit as a giver of spiritual power to believers.³⁰ It may be said that the League formed a bridge between Pentecostalism and the teaching of R. A. Torrey. While Torrey emphasises the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which empowers believers to serve the work of God,³¹ Harris went further, starting to use the Pentecostal terminology. Two terms, namely 'the Pentecostal League,' which was used to refer to those who seek after the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, and 'Tongues of Fire' which was the name of the official magazine of the League, were directly borrowed by the early Pentecostals in Britain and other countries in Europe, although their meaning varied according to contexts.

Reader Harris' criticism of speaking in tongues evoked direct refutation from Barratt. The controversy was reported in the *Sunderland Daily Echo* of 2 October. In the report, it was presented as a division within the Pentecostal movement. Harris argued that 'it was the least of the gifts, and that "the whole thing was full of danger and fanaticism."' With regard to his criticism, Barratt retorted that Harris had read the Bible superficially, arguing that the Bible said that speaking in tongues was brought to all people at Pentecost, but did not say that it is not a gift for everyone.³²

Besides the opposition to speaking in tongues, some raised the objection that there had been moral decline in the teaching of the Pentecostal movement. Harris, with his strong

²⁹ Wellings, *Evangelicals Embattled*, 55; Hooker, *Adventures of an Agnostic*, 121-124.

³⁰ Harris divided church history into three eras, namely the eras of the dispensation of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He claimed that the believers had historically entered the era of the Holy Spirit. Reader Harris, *When He Is Come* (London: Literature department of Pentecostal League, 1930), 10-18.

³¹ Torrey claims that the baptism with the Holy Spirit is a definite experience, which is not received unknowingly, and that is distinct from and additional to the work of regeneration. R. A. Torrey, *The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit* (London: James Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1910), 173-174.

³² *Sunderland Daily Echo* (30 September 1907), 3.

supporter, Oswald Chambers, also criticised the Pentecostal movement on the pretext that it threatened the bonds of marriage. Oswald Chambers condemned the movement in *Tongues of Fire*:

In addition to wrong doctrine the present “Tongues Movement” has been followed by results not only confusing but threatening to morality and the sacred bonds of marriage. Any movement that treats the marriage bond as a human institution and not a divine constitution is stamped clearly as against God.³³

Harris’s criticism must have affected the withdrawal of Pollock, who was Boddy’s brother-in-law, from his involvement in the Pentecostal movement. The incident must have been painful to both Barratt and Boddy because his Spirit baptism which followed with tongues and prophecies was remarkable.³⁴ However, Pollock believed that ‘the mighty baptism he received was of the Devil’ from 10 October and finally returned to the League.³⁵

The news of the Pollock’s desertion of the Pentecostal movement must have negatively affected its reputation. It may be said Pollock’s account convinced Penn-Lewis that the movement was of the Devil. When Mrs. Boddy sent a letter to Penn-Lewis, she mentioned Pollock in defence of the Pentecostal movement:

We know everyone that has received the ‘tongues’ with the exception of my brother ... My brother has entirely forgotten many things that took place – this I attribute to his physical state – partly produced by a morbid condition of waiting in Devonshire for months for the Baptism and disturbing elements that arose there.³⁶

The division between the two groups brought adverse effects to both sides. As regards Harris, he lost the justification of the interdenominational union’s ideology. An

³³ Oswald Chambers, ‘Tongues and Testing,’ *Tongues of Fire* (January 1908), 3.

³⁴ Barratt, ‘Diary,’ 6.

³⁵ Ibid., 11,16.

³⁶ Mary Boddy to Jessie Penn-Lewis (12 November 1907), DGC, Boddy File.

interdenominational union for prayer, excluding any doctrinal issues, was the ideology which Harris wanted the union to have. Harris ardently expressed the aims of the League:

We desire that the Pentecostal League shall not be a substitute for any Church, but the source of help and power to all. We have no new doctrine to proclaim, but rather a mission to the whole body of Christ: on the one hand seeking to win unbelievers to Christ; on the other, offering a helping hand to the many among Christian communities today who are hungering and thirsting after righteousness and true holiness.³⁷

However, the dispute with the advocates of speaking in tongues and the exclusion of the Pentecostals undermined Harris' justification for the interdenominational orientation of the League. The nascent movement of speaking in tongues was also harmed by his criticism, and was to face the danger of being branded as a heretical sect of Christianity because the PLP had enjoyed the intensive participation of many denominations. The League had been supported by both the established church and the Free Church, despite some opposition.³⁸ Therefore, the opposition from Reader Harris had a significant effect on the nascent Pentecostal movement.

1.3.2. Criticism from Two Prominent Visitors of the Sunderland Meetings

When his criticism reached its peak, two prominent visitors came to Sunderland to ascertain the soundness of the movement in person. First of all, there was Alfred T. Schofield (1846-1929), M.D.,³⁹ who had admired Westcott, the successor of the Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, and was a close friend of both Westcott and Moule.⁴⁰ At this time, he was writing a book entitled *Christian Sanity*, to which Moule wrote a preface.

³⁷ Hooker, *Adventures of an Agnostic*, 112.

³⁸ Ibid., 127.

³⁹ Schofield was a M.R.C.S.E and a prolific author of the Christian books including *Palestine Pictures, or Where He Dwelt*, *The Journeys of Jesus Christ*, *The Son of God*, *With Christ in Palestine*, *The Knowledge of God* and *Christian Sanity*, etc.

⁴⁰ Alfred T. Schofield, *Behind the Brass Plate* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., n.d.), 193-194.

He was unhappy about the American origin of the movement. Like Penn-Lewis, he believed that Los Angeles was the origin of many erroneous beliefs. He writes:

I now give a brief account from Los Angeles from the pen of one well known to me, which seems to show the exceedingly corrupt source from which so much of the movement springs. "Los Angeles, California, is the common source of the present speaking with tongues, &c. This is a strange place. First there are thousands of heathen with their idolatries and filthinesses, which means the presence of demons in their homes. There, then, is the widespread theosophy, new thought, mysticism, sorcery, clairvoyance, and necromancy."⁴¹

With this preconception, he informed Boddy, who had welcomed him as a guest at his vicarage of All Saints' Church, that he might have to write against the movement. Even the hospitality of his host could not change Schofield's belief that Barratt's very magnetic personality was at work.⁴² He finally concluded that 'the whole seemed to be an outburst of some form of hysteria; I certainly could not regard it as the work of the Holy Spirit.'⁴³ The censure of the movement in his books significantly affected fundamentalists and is often cited in their objections to the movement. For example, A. J. Pollock, who had strong fundamentalist views and wrote booklets to combat what he believed were erroneous teachings, including Roman Catholicism, Unitarianism, British Israelism, the Oxford Movement and Seventh Day Adventism, concluded that 'the movement was not of the Spirit of God' on the basis of Schofield's judgement on the movement.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Alfred T. Schofield, *Christian Sanity* (London: Marshall Brother, ed. 1926), 67.

⁴² Mary Boddy to Jessie Penn-Lewis (12 November 1907), DGC, Boddy file.

⁴³ Schofield, *Behind the Brass Plate*, 250.

⁴⁴ A. J. Pollock, *Modern Pentecostalism, Foursquare Gospel, "Healing" & "Tongues": Are they of God?* (London: The Central Bible Truth Depot, n.d.), 17-19.

1.3.3. The Opposition from Jessie Penn-Lewis

Jessie Penn-Lewis⁴⁵ heads those among the evangelicals who opposed the Pentecostal movement. She claimed that it was rooted in the Devil. Boddy, however, wrote a letter refuting her charges by means of biblical and historical reasoning, recalling that the same phenomenon had also taken place in the Apostolic church and in the days of John Wesley and George Whitfield. In this letter, Boddy implied that there had already been a significant attempt to dismiss the movement in Britain and gently warned her not to despise nor hinder the work of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁶

On 12 October, Penn-Lewis herself visited Sunderland as a participant, to see what was going on, without disclosing her identity to Boddy. Barratt's meeting in Sunderland led her to write a harsh letter condemning the movement; however, she did not send it. The criticism in the letter was mainly of Barratt, meant to break the connection between him and Boddy. She claimed that 'his [Barratt's] fire experience is not the pure work of the Spirit, and probably unknown to himself he is transmitting foreign power into the bodies of those he touches.' She also denied the physical manifestation that Barratt had experienced, and was convinced that 'paralysis is the only result eventually.'⁴⁷ In the letter, she emphasised the atonement of Christ by His Blood more than the work of the Holy Spirit. She asserted that 'so long as you implicitly believe every supernatural movement in the meeting to be of God – so long no claiming of the "Blood" will reveal the false.'⁴⁸

Although Penn-Lewis did not approve of Barratt's ministry, she was at least sympathetic to Boddy's aims and avoided direct conflict with him at this time.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Penn-Lewis was one of the main contributors to *The Christian*, an influential evangelical magazine, and a Keswick speaker.

⁴⁶ Alexander A. Boddy to Jessie Penn-Lewis (17 July 1907), DGC, Boddy File.

⁴⁷ Jessie Penn-Lewis to Alexander A. Boddy (28 October 1907), DGC, Boddy File.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Jessie Penn-Lewis to Alexander A. Boddy (31 October 1907), DGC, Boddy File.

Instead of sending the severe letter mentioned above, she sent him a diplomatic letter on 9 November 1907. In this, she criticises Barratt for using animal magnetism:

But I felt sure from reports from balanced deeply taught souls in Sweden that Pastor Barratt had working through him a strong force of animal magnetism, making him almost like a galvanic battery – I believe it is quite unconsciously to himself, but it is very very serious, for it is through the avenue of this animal magnetism that evil spirits enter the bodies of children of God.⁵⁰

This letter was gentler than her previous one, which was never sent. Rather than direct criticism of Boddy, she expressed her concern about his wife, who had been much involved with speaking in tongues, and said she hoped to have a private talk with the couple.

In reply to Penn-Lewis, Mrs. Boddy wrote a long letter on 12 November. She vindicated the movement in two ways, saying that there had been nothing satanic or counterfeit in the meetings at Sunderland. First, she frequently used in this letter the terms, ‘the Blood (or the victory of the Blood)’ and ‘Overcoming,’ which were the terms which Penn-Lewis preferred.⁵¹ The Blood of Christ is presented in her letter as a significant way to protect the work of the Holy Spirit from the wiles of the Devil. Second, she mentioned in this letter that many people from the Keswick Convention, where Penn-Lewis often preached, had also attended the Pentecostal meetings in Sunderland. She added a postscript to emphasise that ‘Miss Bessie Porter [later to become the wife of the chairman of Keswick, Mr. Albert Head] and 4 others have received the full Baptism with “Tongues” in America.’⁵² It seems that Mrs Boddy added this reference at the end

⁵⁰ Jessie Penn-Lewis to Alexander A. Boddy (9 November 1907), DGC, Boddy File.

⁵¹ Mary Boddy to Jessie Penn-Lewis (12 November 1907), DGC, Boddy File; When Penn-Lewis withdrew from Keswick in 1909, she founded the Overcomer League, which issued the periodical *The Overcomer*. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 178,196.

⁵² Ibid.

of her letter to vindicate the soundness of the Pentecostal movement. However, in spite of the considerable efforts of Boddy and his wife, Penn-Lewis was not convinced and finally resolved to write a series of articles entitled *An Hour of Peril* to warn against the movement. In the first article, she expressed her distrust of it: 'Never have the most spiritual souls in the Church of Christ been so perplexed as during the last twelve months, as they have watched what may be described as the "Tongues" movement, which had its rise in Los Angeles.'⁵³ In these articles she uses two means to present the movement in a bad light to British Christians. First, as quoted above, she emphasises its American origins and the divisions and feuds within the movement. She makes frequent reference to its Los Angeles origins (or refers to it as 'the Californian movement') as a way of denigrating it.⁵⁴ Second, she devotes a good deal of space to the conference at Barmen, Germany on 19 and 20 December 1907, where more than thirty ministers of the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* had gathered to discuss whether or not the movement was the fruit of the Holy Spirit and had finally issued a declaration against it.⁵⁵ It seems that Penn-Lewis uses the events in Germany as a precedent to warn her readers of the hazards of being involved in the movement. Finally, she concludes her long series of articles with the following demand to those who supported the movement:

Let the fundamental stumbling-stone of making "Tongues," the "indispensable sign" of the Pentecostal fulness of the Spirit, be entirely put aside, for this we are persuaded is the "open door" to the enemy, who is able to work directly we are out of line with the Word of God.⁵⁶

Her articles received favourable comments from the opponents of the movement.⁵⁷

F. B. Meyer also sent a favourable letter to Penn-Lewis from South Africa, exclaiming

⁵³ Jessie Penn-Lewis, 'An Hour of Peril,' *The Christian* (9 January 1908), 12.

⁵⁴ Jessie Penn-Lewis, 'An Hour of Peril 3,' *The Christian* (23 January 1908), 11; 'An Hour of Peril 5' (13 February 1908), 11; 'An Hour of Peril 6' (20 February 1908), 11.

⁵⁵ Jessie Penn-Lewis, 'An Hour of Peril,' *The Christian* (9 January 1908), 12; 'An Hour of Peril 2' (16 January 1908), 11; 'An Hour of Peril 4' (6 February 1908), 11.

⁵⁶ Jessie Penn-Lewis, 'An Hour of Peril 8,' *The Christian* (5 March 1908), 12.

⁵⁷ For example, Arthur Luloya in Brooklands wrote a letter to Penn-Lewis in support of her article.

that ‘the letters in *the Christian* are of high value just now. There is nothing else to guide these perplexed souls. What a strange thing it is! But surely the watchman should blow the trumpet and warn the people.’⁵⁸

However, her disapproval might have been fatal to the Pentecostal movement which was still at a formative stage, making some Pentecostals hostile to Penn-Lewis. For example, George B. Studd on 4 March 1908 wrote, ‘if I may speak out what is in my heart, I do feel that your articles far too pessimistic and condemnatory of a movement in which God is surely doing.’⁵⁹

As soon as Penn-Lewis’ article appeared in *The Christian*, Barratt sent J. W. Thirtle, the editor of the magazine, a counter-article in defence of Pentecostalism. Instead of publishing it, Thirtle sent the manuscript to Penn-Lewis for review. In her reply to Thirtle, she claimed that the biggest problem of the Pentecostals was the persistent adherence to speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. She wrote:

I think his [Barratt’s] spirit is beautiful and I believe he is a very good man. If all others will take the attitude of no insistence on “Tongues as the one evidence of the Baptism of the Spirit” the great stumbling-block would be removed.⁶⁰

Evan Roberts, the pivotal figure of the Welsh Revival, later stood firmly with Penn-Lewis against Pentecostalism. Evan Roberts helped her to publish *War on the Saints* by adding his name to it as co-writer. The purpose of the book was to warn Christians about the peril of Pentecostalism. It was claimed that speaking in tongues

Arthur Luloya to Mrs. Penn-Lewis (6 March 1908), DGC, Boddy File.

⁵⁸ Garrard, *Mrs. Penn-Lewis*, 228.

⁵⁹ George B. Studd to Jessie Penn-Lewis (4 March 1908), Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, USA (hereafter, FPHC).

⁶⁰ Jessie Penn-Lewis to J.W. Thirtle (15 February 1908). Desmond Cartwright’s Collection (hereafter, DCC).

could easily be counterfeit and caused by the spirits of evil; it could not safely be relied upon.⁶¹ When the book was published in 1912, the leaders of the Pentecostal movement refuted its arguments and adopted a declaration at the International Advisory Pentecostal Council in May 1913. In this declaration, the Pentecostal leaders affirmed that the book's argument was not scriptural and sought to disprove its contentions, using verses from the Bible.⁶² On the one hand, Pentecostals drew attention to the crucial value of the evangelical emphasis on such things as the Bible and the Blood of Christ, but on the other they endeavoured to ignore the influence of the book, expressing their regret that Evan Roberts had conspired with Penn-Lewis against Pentecostalism. A German Pentecostal who attended the Sunderland International Pentecostal Conference in May 1913 wrote:

They [the Pentecostals in Wales] still have a great love for their old leader, Evan Roberts, and all are very sorry that this dear brother keeps himself back spiritually through the influence of a woman, as otherwise he could work now with great blessing ... But the dear brethren from Wales are not hindered by this book. They go their own way, and are not hindered by this book or by Evan Roberts, but only pray that Evan Roberts may be set free from this, for the fruitful service waiting for him.⁶³

For the Pentecostals, the news that Evan Roberts was hostile to Pentecostalism was deeply dismaying. However, they tried to ignore Roberts' influence in order to mitigate its impact, although it must have been a great shock to them.

1.3.4. Barratt and Boddy's Defences against their Accusers

In the face of this opposition, Boddy wrote some articles for the weekly newspaper, *The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times*, which was prepared to countenance the

⁶¹ Jessie Penn-Lewis, *War on the Saints* (New York: Thomas E. Lowe, LTD., 1981), 165-166, 297-298.

⁶² This declaration was signed by Alexander Boddy, Cecil Polhill (England), J Paul, E. Edel (Germany), G. R. Polman (Holland) and R. Geyer (Switzerland). *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.7 (July 1913), 135-136.

⁶³ *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.8 (August 1913), 157.

movement. His articles were published under the title, *World-Wide Revival*, and he tried in them to justify and recommend the movement, claiming that it had spread to all parts of the world and that Sunderland had been chosen for it by God.⁶⁴

Boddy and Barratt also issued pamphlets and leaflets to defend the movement. These written refutations of the criticisms became the main means of justifying it. While Boddy's leaflets,⁶⁵ which mainly contained the testimonies of those who had received speaking in tongues, took on the character of an introduction of the movement as God's chosen way to a new revival, the writings of Barratt were a more active and direct defence against its critics. In the early stages of the Pentecostal movement, most criticism focused on the authenticity of the Pentecostal movement and the necessity of speaking in tongues as a sign of baptism by the Holy Spirit, as mentioned above. Therefore, Barratt wrote his pamphlets in an effort to prove the genuineness and the soundness of the Pentecostal revival. To defend the movement against those who claimed that it was based on hypnotism or mesmerism, he wrote "*Pentecost, not Hypnotism*"⁶⁶ as well as issuing an article, *Pentecost with Tongues, not of the Devil*, in which he emphasised that Pentecost was under the Blood, against those who denounced that the movement as originating from the Devil.⁶⁷

In the article entitled "*Tongues*", *A Reply to Critics*, for which Boddy wrote the preface, he argued that 1) speaking in tongues was neither counterfeit of the Devil nor the least gift; and 2) the Pentecostal movement was a sound form of revivalism which does not

⁶⁴ Boddy introduced the movement in Scandinavia, America (New York and California) and Egypt, A. A. Boddy, 'World-Wide Revival,' *The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times* (24 October 1907), 387; (12 December 1907), 555; He also noted that there were visitors from many parts of Britain and Ireland, such as Dublin, Edinburgh, London, Llandrindod, Brighton, Motherwell and Carlisle etc. *The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times* (31 October 1907), 411.

⁶⁵ Boddy's leaflets are 1) *Speaking in Tongues* (No.1), 2) *These Signs shall follow* (No.3), 3) *Tongues in Norway* (No.6), 4) *Tongues in Sunderland* (No.9), 5) *Young People at Sunderland* (No.10), 6) *A Prophetic Message* (No.11), 7) *An Evangelist's Testimony* (No.12), 8) *A Pentecost at Home* (No. Unknown).

⁶⁶ T. B. Barratt, "*Pentecost, not Hypnotism*" (Sunderland: n.d.).

⁶⁷ T. B. Barratt, *Pentecost with Tongues, Not of the Devil* (Sunderland: n.d.).

signify any moral decline, accentuating in particular the importance of tongues in comparison with the Holy Communion:

... consider how little is said of the “Holy Communion” in the Epistles, and that for many it is one of the fundamental revelations of the Scriptures. ... Now it’s *this fullness*, in connection with the speaking in tongues, that brings you into personal *communion* with God, *edifies* your spirit and brings *assurance* and *strength*. IN THE MOMENT THAT IT TAKES PLACE YOU HAVE YOUR PENTECOST. [Capitals and italics in the original]⁶⁸

1.4. Evaluation of the Relationship between the Pentecostal Side and Its Opponents

It is interesting that Boddy was much involved in the Keswick convention and the PLP, which were interdenominational alliances. It seems that the interdenominational (or transdenominational) inclination of Anglicanism in Boddy’s thought was consolidated by his participation in the two other movements. However, when he introduced the Pentecostal movement, which was hard for its opponents to accept, he was faced with a crisis: the breakdown of his interdenominational solidarity before the challenge of those who had already made extensive networks. His steadfast maintenance of the interdenominationalism of the Pentecostal movement may be a result of the influence of Reader Harris.

Influenced by Penn-Lewis, Boddy led the Pentecostal movement with an emphasis on the Blood, which seemed to him to be the most important way to avoid criticism of the movement. At the same time, the Word, as the yardstick of a real revival, also needed to be stressed. In this regard, it may have been natural for Boddy to oppose any strong emphasis on spiritual gifts, as in the AFC of William Oliver Hutchinson, and to reject any kind of attempt to establish a new Pentecostal denomination.

⁶⁸ T. B. Barratt, “Tongues”. *A Reply to Critics* (Sunderland: 1907), 15-16.

2. Sunderland as the Centre of British Pentecostalism

When Barratt gave his farewell message to the congregation at All Saints', Boddy gave thanks to God because he had 'honoured the Blood, and honoured the Bible.'⁶⁹ From the time when Barratt returned to Norway, Boddy took the leadership and Sunderland became a Mecca of British Pentecostalism. Those who wanted to get the Pentecostal blessing thronged to Sunderland to witness the Pentecostal revival. At this early stage, as Moser of Southsea reported to Boddy, the Pentecostal assemblies in the British Isles, which were small and had been led by people of socially low status, faced severe opposition.⁷⁰ Moreover, when the news reached Britain of the conference at Barmen where more than thirty German ministers issued the declaration against the movement, small Pentecostal assemblies were in danger of dissolution. Barratt expresses his anxiety about the situation of these Pentecostal assemblies in a letter to Boddy on the Barmen conference:

It is really sad to think that numbers are being prevented in England and elsewhere from seeking the Baptism of Fire because of their terror for counterfeits. This proves satisfactorily to my mind that the way in which some of the leaders of Christian thought in Great Britain have been dealing with the matter has not been a wise one. Surely their efforts ought not to have influenced people to get out of the way of the blessing, but much rather, whilst guarding the way against the difficulties, to make it as easy as possible for them to get to the blessing the sooner the better.⁷¹

In this situation, the role of Sunderland must not be underestimated. According to the first issue of *Confidence*, the place took a significant part in the disseminating of Pentecostalism. First, it was the place where many people received the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues. After the Pentecostal movement started in September, about 70 people received speaking in tongues. Among those who received it through the Sunderland meetings were such future Pentecostal leaders as Smith

⁶⁹ Barratt, *When the Fire Fell*, 156.

⁷⁰ *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 8.

⁷¹ *Special Supplement to Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 2.

Wigglesworth, Gerrit R. Polman and Stanley Frodsham. Second, Sunderland became a centre for free Pentecostal literature. From there, many testimonies and publications were sent to other parts of Europe, America and even India.⁷² Through *Confidence*, the scattered Pentecostal Assemblies, many of them not affiliated with other denominations and only a form of house meeting, expressed their solidarity with other centres. The reports in the first issue show that many leaders of the assemblies were laymen such as Mogridge who was a builder in Lythan, and Smith Wigglesworth, a Bradford plumber.⁷³ Third, the International Convention at Sunderland gave Boddy a key role in the movement at a formative stage. During the first Sunderland Conference, Boddy was the chairman who had the authority to control all meetings.

2.1. The Character of the Early Meetings in Sunderland

From time to time, Boddy roughly calculated the number of people who received speaking in tongues in the British Isles. At the time when Boddy first heard about this, the number of those who had received the gift was no more than five or six, but it rose rapidly to about 500 people by April 1908, if we can trust Boddy's calculations. However, Sunderland had low numbers, compared with other Pentecostal assemblies.

Sunderland in the early twentieth century was a big city in the North of England where ship construction was the main industry, employing many of its working class population of about 150,000.⁷⁴ When Boddy reviewed the first year of the Pentecostal movement in retrospect, he calculated that more than 500 Pentecostal meetings had been held during the 12 months and about 100 persons, some of them were visitors, had received 'a definite baptism of the Holy Ghost,' that is to say, speaking in tongues. However, Boddy admitted that 'statistics are only poor and cold.'⁷⁵ In contrast to

⁷² *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 5.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁷⁴ *Confidence* No.2 (May 1908), 6.

⁷⁵ *Confidence* No.6 (15 September 1908), 5.

Sunderland, in Kilsyth alone, a small Scottish town 12 miles from Glasgow, about 200 people spoke in tongues up to 6 March 1908, according to the report of John Martin.⁷⁶ Later, Kilsyth became an important centre in the movement in Britain. It was through Kilsyth that Pentecostalism spread rapidly throughout Scotland and Ireland. The comparatively poor result for Sunderland can be explained by the following considerations. First, Boddy devoted his efforts to defending the movement from criticism rather than practising speaking in tongues in the services. In particular, the delay of his speaking in tongues and his discretion in the use of tongues in front of his parishioners must have prevented him from actively encouraging his congregation from receiving the tongues. Even when he finally received speaking with tongues, he evaded the eyes of his church people. Boddy reminisces about his first experience of speaking in tongues at the London conference on 12 June 1916 that 'I believe my real baptism was on that day, corroborated by the wonderful sign of tongues, when the Holy Ghost took control of my vocal powers, and I was glad to go to the shores of the North Sea and let my tongue compete with the roaring waves and not trouble respectable church people.'⁷⁷ From the incipient period of the movement, Boddy was cautious about physical manifestations, including speaking in tongues, and stressed perfect order in the Pentecostal meetings, even in the Sunderland conference.⁷⁸ The caution about physical manifestations is well reflected in Mary Boddy's article in the December issue of 1908. She wrote:

... therefore we see that at any moment, we can stop the manifestations of the Holy Spirit, and these manifestations, either in speech, or physical, always are in keeping with the Spirit of the Word, and are therefore sober, decent, orderly, temperate, self-controlled.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 12.

⁷⁷ *Flames of Fire* (June 1916), 2.

⁷⁸ *Confidence* No.3 (30 June 1908), 7.

⁷⁹ *Confidence* No.9 (15 December 1908), 14.

Second, musical instruments, which are important means of whipping up people's emotions and were very often used in Pentecostal meetings, were never used at Boddy's meetings. When he vindicated the soundness of the movement through the weekly magazine, *The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times*, he stresses that 'there has been no instrumental music' at his meetings.⁸⁰ Moreover, it was just before Barratt's visit that Boddy prepared numerous songs, choruses and hymns, which became familiar to those who were present at the meetings which Barratt led.⁸¹

With regard to healing, Alexander and Mary Boddy followed A. B. Simpson's method. Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919) initiated the distinctive 'Fourfold Gospel,' which is Jesus as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and the Coming King.⁸² This was during his visit to London in 1885, when he achieved international fame among evangelicals in the absence of the expected preachers, including Cullis, Judd, Mahan, Stanton, Blumhardt, Zeller and Stockmayer.⁸³ It is assumed that Boddy was impressed by the doctrine of divine healing and adopted Simpson's method of faith healing during this time.

It is true that there is some continuity between Simpson and Dowie, as Dayton argues that 'the themes of healing in Dowie were being extracted from their soteriological rooting in redemption.'⁸⁴ However, the healing ministry of Dowie has clearly evolved beyond Simpson's. Robinson distinguishes between the two methods. He claims that where Dowie differed from Simpson was in placing healing not so much 'in the Christological framework of soteriology' but 'more in the distinctive Pentecostal

⁸⁰ *The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times* (31 October 1907), 411.

⁸¹ Barratt, 'Diary,' 3.

⁸² The Fourfold Gospel was coined at the convention at the Gospel Tabernacle in New York in 1890. Charles W. Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992), 2.

⁸³ Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson*, 15.

⁸⁴ Dayton, *Roots of Pentecostalism*, 137.

pneumatology of gifts, power, sign and wonders.’⁸⁵ While Simpson stresses the atonement of Christ rather than the gift of healing, Dowie emphasises the healing ministry by the gift of healing as one of the nine gifts of the Holy Spirit. In his explanation of God’s way of healing, it is obvious that Dowie emphasises the gift of healing and the laying on of hands as practical methods in the healing ministry.⁸⁶ It seems that Boddy and his wife often read Simpson’s writings. For example, Boddy inserted one of Simpson’s songs in his book about the journey to Galilee.⁸⁷ Both Boddy and his wife understood divine healing in its Christological context, though they conceded that the gift of healing was bestowed in the days of the movement. Mrs Boddy claimed that ‘on Calvary we can rejoice to-day that the Redeemer fulfilled the Scriptures and bore away not only our sin, but our sickness. God’s children are proving to-day that “He that believeth can be saved – made whole.”’⁸⁸ Her understanding of divine healing parallels Simpson’s. Just as Simpson claims that the cross of the Lord is ‘the fundamental principle of divine healing’⁸⁹ the Boddys believed that the atonement of Christ on the cross is the basis of divine healing. They always put in first place the work of Christ more than that of the Spirit who gives a gift of healing. Therefore, it can be said that the Boddys’ understanding of healing leaned towards Christology rather than Pneumatology.

2.2. The Setting of the Sunderland International Conference

Boddy decided to hold the first Whitsuntide Conference in what was to be an annual series of meetings, from 6 to 11 June 1908. As Boddy did not want the conference to be a place of controversy, he refused all those who had no signed admission card, which bore the words ‘I declare that I am in full sympathy with those who are seeking

⁸⁵ James Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin: Early Pentecostalism in Ireland in the Context of The British Isles* (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2005), 38.

⁸⁶ *Leaves of Healing* (31 August 1894), 7.

⁸⁷ Alexander A. Boddy, *Days in Galilee* (London: Gay & Bird, 1900), 277.

⁸⁸ *Confidence* No.2 (May 1908), 16.

⁸⁹ A. B. Simpson, *The Gospel of Healing* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1915), 34.

‘Pentecost’ with Sign of the Tongues. I also undertake to accept the ruling of the Chairman.’⁹⁰ This became a norm for the other conferences, in particular the London Conference, which followed the introduction of a ticket system, to avoid any opposition to the Pentecostal movement.⁹¹ All meetings during the Convention, apart from Holy Communion which was conducted twice on the Sunday at 8 and 10. 30, were scheduled to be held in the vestry or in the Parish Hall, which is in Fulwell Road and about two hundred metres from the church; however, the church was used at the welcome meeting because the large vestry and the Parish Hall were too small to accommodate all the participants.⁹² About 120 visitors from distant places gathered and 500 people - mainly the parishioners – attended the meetings.⁹³ As Holy Communion is considered an important part of Anglicanism, it was a part of the Convention and all participants were invited to partake of Communion. Yet, according to Mrs. Barratt’s note, the customs at Communion were so different because they were conducted according to the Anglican tradition, ⁹⁴ although Boddy believed that ‘no one present that day could fail to have realised the true unity of Christ’s body.’⁹⁵

As far as the leadership was concerned, Boddy took the chair at all meetings and maintained order throughout the whole conference. Although he successfully exercised his leadership in the Pentecostal meeting, there was some opposition to anyone’s taking the lead, even Boddy, because it might be a hindrance to the will of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁶ Gee places high value on the conference, though the attendance was not large. He finds it important not for its size but for the participation of the leaders of such small assemblies who were destined to become important leaders in the Pentecostal

⁹⁰ *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 2.

⁹¹ *Confidence* Vol.III, No.3 (March 1910), 64.

⁹² *Confidence* No.3 (June 1908), 6.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁴ *Confidence* No.4 (July 1908), 5.

⁹⁵ *Confidence* No.3 (June 1908), 14.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

movement.⁹⁷ Among them were Andrew Murdoch, who became involved in the AFC, and Smith Wigglesworth who spoke at the meetings. One thing which exceedingly impressed Boddy was the fact that participants came from many different denominations and countries. As a result, he was sure that ‘there was unity which nothing but the Holy Spirit could give. We were Anglicans, Methodists, Friends, Salvationists, Congregationalists, Mission Members, etc., but ‘denomination’ was forgotten. All one in Christ Jesus was true.’⁹⁸

The first Sunderland Conference produced a significant outcome. To begin with, small Pentecostal assemblies were able to join together and share their Pentecostal experiences with this conference as a start. Boddy made lists of the Pentecostal centres in Great Britain and Ireland, which appeared in the July issue of *Confidence*. According to his report, there were 36 Pentecostal centres in Britain and Ireland (2 centres in Ireland, 3 centres in Wales, 13 centres in Scotland and 18 centres in England). Interestingly, there were only 2 centres where an Anglican was in charge, namely, the Sunderland centre of Boddy and the London centre of Polhill. The remaining centres were run by independent leaders and ministers from other denominations. Unlike Keswick, in which Anglican participation was remarkable and Anglican ministers dominated the leadership, the Sunderland Conference was dominated by participation from outside the Anglican church, though two Anglicans played a significant role. This imbalance was easy to end through the influence of the local leaders, who were mostly non-Anglican. Second, the Sunderland Conference gave Boddy and Polhill a representative role among the British Pentecostals in the international conferences. When an international conference was held in Germany on 8-11 December, 1908, they attended as the British representatives. More than fifty representatives from many parts of Europe were present. Therefore, the characteristics of Pentecostalism in the early

⁹⁷ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 37.

⁹⁸ *Confidence* No.3 (June 1908), 9.

days were reflected by the views of the two Anglicans. For example, Boddy was always emphatic about the importance of sanctification. When pastor Vigot of Ostfriesland asked if sanctification was taught as a necessary precedent of speaking in tongues, Boddy answered in the affirmative with the result that other Pentecostals accepted the importance of sanctification.⁹⁹ He exercised his influence in forming the character of Pentecostalism at international conferences. In particular, he operated the Convention in an interdenominational way and vetoed any form of denominationalism. The purpose of this was to avoid being blamed if the movement were viewed as an extremely emotional sect and Christian heresy. Everyone was welcomed, irrespective of his or her denomination, as he says in *Confidence*:

One of the proofs, to the Writer's mind, that the Lord is in this, His work, is that He has brought together at Sunderland Friends, Brethren, Methodists, Salvationists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Church-folk, and they have all been one in spirit and one in trusting the precious Blood. Denominationalism has melted away and the barriers disappeared as the Holy Spirit came into full possession.¹⁰⁰

If we continue to investigate his magazine, we can perceive that others made several attempts or suggestions to create a Pentecostal denomination. However, he determinedly opposed denominationalism, as follows:

A welcome was given to all, and no attempt was made to proselytise. Christians of many kinds came and went; most of them returned to their own churches. Differences existed as before, but they were never emphasized ... The Editor of "*Confidence*" does not feel that the Lord's leading in these days is to set up a new Church, but to bless individuals where they are. There is just as much danger, soon or later, for a "Pentecostal Church" (so-called), as for any of the churches that have risen and fallen.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ *Special Supplement to Confidence* No.9 (15 December 1908), 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Confidence* No.6 (September 1908), 5.

¹⁰¹ A. A. Boddy, 'Unity, not uniformity,' *Confidence* V.4, No.3 (March 1911), 60.

2.3. Publication of *Confidence* Magazine

Boddy published the first Pentecostal magazine in Britain, entitled *Confidence*, in April 1908.¹⁰² As Taylor claims, *Confidence* was ‘the final, and most important factor in securing and maintaining Boddy’s central position within British Pentecostalism.’¹⁰³ Boddy at first published 3,000 copies of *Confidence* but the number of copies sharply rose to 5,000-6,000 copies in July 1911.¹⁰⁴ It had a wide coverage of readers. He recollects its influence, saying that ‘this [*Confidence*] has brought the good news to many who are unable to get to Pentecostal centres. It travels to almost every part of the world where English is understood, and grateful letters constantly assure us that it is blessed in speeding the good news of a full salvation and a Pentecost for all.’¹⁰⁵

Confidence, on the one hand, became a key agent by which small Pentecostal assemblies could get news from other Pentecostal centres in Britain, while on the other hand became a means for an international network of Pentecostal adherents. In particular, in order for it to be well received, Boddy stressed that the Pentecostal revival in Sunderland was not a local revival, which had strange manifestations such as speaking in tongues, but part of the worldwide revival. For this reason, from the first issue, Boddy included in the monthly magazine many testimonies and letters from many parts of Britain, even other European countries and India.¹⁰⁶ As a result, he achieved international significance and was a decisive figure among British Pentecostals in spreading the Pentecostal belief. It is beyond doubt that *Confidence* was the central corpus of British Pentecostalism until the outbreak of WW1, reflecting Boddy’s own position on Pentecostal theology and social issue such as the Christian’s attitude towards war.

¹⁰² Taylor examined the history and theology of *Confidence* with brief history of the Pentecostal publications. Taylor, ‘Publish and Be Blessed.’

¹⁰³ Ibid., 136.

¹⁰⁴ *Confidence*, Vol.IV, No.8 (August 1911), 192.

¹⁰⁵ *Confidence*, Vol.III, No.8 (August 1910), 196.

¹⁰⁶ For example, the first issue contained testimonies and letters from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Egypt and India. *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908).

2.4. Travelling Ministry

Boddy had a worldwide leadership through his travelling ministry. He was an adventurous traveller. Even before he contacted the Pentecostal movement in Oslo, he had travelled extensively throughout the world, for instance to many parts of Europe, America, Canada and even the Middle East. He wrote six books about his travels, and became a member of the Royal Geographical Society in 1885, the Imperial Geographical Society of Russia and the Khedival Geographical Society of Egypt. Wakefield suggested that the travels before he contacted Pentecostalism had a formative influence on Boddy's character by which he was enabled to lead the Pentecostal movement. First, it was Boddy's adventurous spirit that made him introduce Pentecostalism into Britain. Second, his contact with persons from a wide range of social and religious backgrounds led him to doctrinally and personally integrate with other people. Third, the previous experience of writing geographical books also helped him to publish booklets, leaflets and *Confidence*.¹⁰⁷

He communicated with the prominent Pentecostal leaders in other countries and exerted his international leadership by his travelling. After he started the Sunderland Convention, he visited America three times, as well as several countries in Europe. Robinson simplifies the purpose of his travelling ministry. According to him, Boddy performed as a minister and theologian who tried to heal divisions between the churches in the United States, to solve doctrinal debates, the issue of tongues, denominationalism and to recommend sound counsel to combat extremists.¹⁰⁸ Whatever the reason for his travels to other countries, it is obvious that his travelling ministry can be characterised as ecumenical efforts.

¹⁰⁷ Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy*, 51-52.

¹⁰⁸ Robinson, 'The Charismatic Anglican,' 79-87.

3. Cecil Polhill and the Pentecostal Missionary Union

Another important Anglican who received the Pentecostal movement was Cecil Polhill. He witnessed and was impressed by the scenes at the conference and the involvement of his old friend, George B. Studd, who was an older brother of C. T. Studd, one of the Cambridge Seven, during his visit to Los Angeles, Toronto and Canada in the first months of 1908.¹⁰⁹ There is no doubt that the appearance of Cecil Polhill on the Pentecostal side was significant. Boddy's expectation of Polhill's role in the Pentecostal movement is well expressed in the following:

We thank God indeed for the unswerving courage of our beloved brother Mr. Cecil Polhill. The Lord had surely raised him up in England to be one of His special witnesses, giving him at the same time unusual opportunities and great influence with many in very different positions in life.¹¹⁰

3.1. The Formation of the PMU

The PMU was formed by the dominant role of Polhill and Boddy in order to prove the soundness of the Pentecostal movement. The Pentecostal movement was often criticised for causing division. One purpose in forming the PMU was to show that the movement was not 'destructive' but 'constructive,' endeavouring to preach the Gospel all over the world in obedience to Jesus' great commission.¹¹¹ On 9 January 1909, the preliminary meeting to form a Pentecostal mission was held at All Saints' Vicarage, where 7 members were appointed as the executive council for the Pentecostal Missionary Union.¹¹² The role of Polhill in the union was remarkable. He was elected as president soon after he resigned the office of treasurer and secretary on 14 October.¹¹³ His wealth together with the fame of the Cambridge Seven and the network of the China Inland

¹⁰⁹ George B. Studd to Jessie Penn-Lewis (4 March 1908), FPHC.

¹¹⁰ *Confidence* No.7 (15 October 1908), 9.

¹¹¹ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.6 (June 1909), 129.

¹¹² The members were Cecil Polhill, A.A Boddy, T. H. Mundell, Victor Wilson, Andrew W. Bell, Andrew Murdoch and H. Small. *Confidence* Vol.II, No.1 (January 1909), 13.

¹¹³ 'The PMU Minutes I' (14 October 1909), 1:13.

Mission must have been the propelling power of the Pentecostal movement. Interestingly enough, when the correspondent of *The Newcastle Daily Journal* reported on the international Pentecostal Convention at Sunderland, Polhill was identified as a member of Council of the China Inland Mission rather than the president of the PMU,¹¹⁴ though he became the president of the latter after October 1909. The office of council membership of the China Inland Mission must have given both him and the Pentecostal movement more respectability than the office of president of the PMU would have. Moreover, Polhill's membership of the well-known mission gave Boddy a chance to meet Stanley Smith, one of the Cambridge Seven, so as to extend Boddy's influence over the evangelical camp.¹¹⁵

3.2. The Work of the PMU

Reflecting on Polhill's missionary zeal, the main purpose of the Union was to carry the Gospel to foreign countries, in particular, Tibet, India and the African countries. The first two PMU missionaries, Kathleen Miller and Lucy James, were sent to India on 24 February 1909 to help Miss Orlebar at Bombay and Pandita Ramabai at Mukti respectively.¹¹⁶ In October 1910, the PMU also sent four missionaries, namely, Frank Trevitt, Percy Bristow, John McGillivray and Amos Williams to Tse-chau-fu, China where Stanley Smith had been a missionary, in order to enter Tibet which had been one of the mission fields of Cecil Polhill.¹¹⁷

It became necessary to open training centres for missionary candidates and not to send untrained missionaries to mission fields. A missionary training home for men was opened at Preston in July 1909 under the superintendence of A. M. Niblock and the PMU Bible School under the principalship of Mrs Chrisp was established in a four-

¹¹⁴ *The Newcastle Daily Journal* (14 May 1910), 3.

¹¹⁵ *Confidence* No.7 (15 October 1908), 7-8.

¹¹⁶ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.3 (March 1909), 63, 75.

¹¹⁷ *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.1 (January 1911), 21.

storey house in Hackney, London at the beginning of 1910.¹¹⁸ Although Bible study was the main subject on the curriculum, English composition, music and elocution for clear preaching were also taught to develop ministering skills.¹¹⁹

Officially, the PMU was not responsible for the financial support of the trainees and the missionary candidates had to manage their own financing. However, the PMU missionaries were supported by voluntary offerings from collecting boxes located in various Pentecostals centres. The Annual Mission meeting at the Sunderland Convention was also one of the main sources of offerings for the PMU. The leaders of the PMU reported the financial status and the progress of missions in the field as well as appealing for support for their organisation. Voluntary offerings were collected at the end of meetings. The amount from the Sunderland Convention was not inconsiderable: in 1910 it came to nearly 10 per cent of the total annual income of the PMU.

Spreading Pentecostal manifestations in the mission fields was one of the important contributions of the PMU. For example, Mrs Stanley Smith received her baptism of the Holy Spirit during the stay of the first PMU missionaries in the CIM station in China. Amos Williams reported to Boddy on 27 March 1911 that there were twelve persons who received the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues in Stanley Smith's mission centre.¹²⁰ The influence on the missionaries of the Christian and Missionary Alliance was more remarkable. When the news about the Pentecostal revivals in various countries reached them, the CMA missionaries, including W. W. Simpson, gained a bad impression of the movement because a Chinese believer who had received speaking in tongues in the mission centre also spoke unholy things, which made the missionary doubtful about the soundness of the movement.¹²¹ However, after the PMU

¹¹⁸ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.11 (November 1909), 253; *Confidence* Vol.III, No.2 (February 1910), 32.

¹¹⁹ *Confidence* Vol.v, No.9 (September 1912), 212.

¹²⁰ Amos William to Boddy, *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.5 (May 1911), 118-119.

¹²¹ W. W. Simpson, 'A Revival near Tibet,' *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.1 (January 1913), 4.

missionaries arrived in July 1911, the number of those who received the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues rose rapidly among the churches in the charge of the CMA missionaries. W. W. Simpson was among those who received speaking in tongues. He superintended seven churches in Tao-chow, Chone, Minchow, Titao, Hochow and Kongchang cities, having 94 members in 1911. However, the members in the churches increased to 186 in 1912. This growth was the result of a series of receiving the gift of speaking in tongues and interpretation which took place among the church members. Mr and Mrs Simpson received their speaking in tongues during this period and their two daughters, Louise and Margaret, also received this gift in May 1912 with about 20 young people.¹²² Simpson's acceptance of Pentecostalism finally led him to break with the CMA and become a Pentecostal missionary.

Although the main purpose of the PMU was to send missionaries to foreign lands, it nurtured some future leaders of British Pentecostalism. George Jeffreys entered the PMU training home in October 1912, although he shortly afterwards started evangelistic missions in Wales instead of taking training courses.¹²³

3.3. The Characters of the PMU

The Principles of the PMU declared that the union was intended to run as an interdenominational organisation,¹²⁴ which was also confirmed during Boddy's visit in the USA. There he thought to establish the PMU for America, which could share the burden of sending missionaries to mission fields. As a result of his effort, the Pentecostal Missionary Union for the USA was founded on the verandah over the entrance of the Missionary Home in Alliance, Ohio on June 23 1909. It was decided that every centre should choose its representative on the General Council, and that seven

¹²² Ibid., 3-4.

¹²³ *Confidence* Vol.V, No.10 (October 1912), 237.

¹²⁴ *Principles of the Pentecostal Missionary Union* (n.p., n.d.), DGC, 1.

members should be chosen to constitute an Executive Council, in which Pastor J. T. Boddy and Levi Lupton were to be included. The union was the idea of Boddy, who did not want to form any organisation and preferred to form a union-style centre for mission. He said:

The writer [A. A. Boddy] has felt strongly that it is a mistake to form another home organisation, which soon may become another “church” and follow the fate of so many before it. Union for the purpose of sending out and helping and advising Pentecostal Missionaries in the dark places of Heathenism is, to his mind, the great need today.¹²⁵

As neither Boddy nor Polhill was inclined to form any kind of organisation for the home country, the union became an agency which mitigated the demand for setting up a new Pentecostal denomination, as well as an outlet which transmitted Pentecostal fever. Gee claims that it leaned towards foreign missions not wanting to form a home organisation. He points out that ‘there would have been considerable opposition to a proposal for training ministers for the home field, but, rather inconsistently, there never seems to have been any question in Pentecostal ranks as to the propriety of training for the foreign field.’¹²⁶ He goes on to claim that the inclination of British Pentecostal movement towards foreign missionary work became a negative factor in the growth of the Pentecostal assemblies in Britain.¹²⁷

The PMU became an important connection to other evangelicals in Britain and in the mission field. As Robinson indicates, the organisation of the PMU could have been mistaken for the setting up of a Federated Pentecostal denomination centred on Sunderland.¹²⁸ However, the PMU and Polhill in fact played an important part in the spreading of the Pentecostal blessing to other denominations and other countries in an

¹²⁵ *Confidence* Vol.11, No.8 (August 1909), 175.

¹²⁶ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 60.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹²⁸ Robinson, ‘The Charismatic Anglican,’ 68.

ecumenical way. For example, Polhill held meetings for revival in London in February and March. On 9 February 1909, when a prayer meeting was held by Polhill at Cannon Street Hotel in London, the number of representatives from different denominations, included Dr. Talbot (Bishop of Southwark), the Bishop of Hassé of the Moravians, Mr. Albert Head (Chairman of the Keswick Convention), Lord Kinnaid, Mr. R. W. Lane, A. A. Boddy and Polman from Amsterdam. Both Boddy and Polman spoke to them about the Pentecostal baptism with the sign of the tongues.¹²⁹ In addition, it became an important agency for connecting with other evangelical missions, as the PMU was founded on the basis of Polhill's experience with the China Inland Mission. It was natural for the missionaries of the Union to cooperate with the missionaries from the China Inland Mission, which had already had a wide spread of mission stations in China and support from evangelicals.¹³⁰ Sometimes the missionaries of the Union learnt the Chinese language with the help of the Christian and Missionary Alliance of Simpson.¹³¹ Therefore, the PMU made an important contribution which made the Pentecostal movement understood as a part of the evangelical movement. In the leadership of the PMU, the dominance of Anglicans can be observed until it emerged with the AOG in 1924. As will be seen in Chapter Six, conflict between the Anglican leaders and leaders from non-Anglican backgrounds constantly arose over the issue of the appointment of the new members of the PMU Council. While the leaders from non-Anglican backgrounds challenged the Anglican dominance in leadership, the Anglicans tried to fill the new vacancies of the PMU Council with Anglicans.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the debate over Pentecostalism and the role of the Sunderland Conference and the PMU from the beginning of the Pentecostal movement.

¹²⁹ *Confidence* Vol. VI, No. 2 (February 1909), 47-49.

¹³⁰ *Flames of Fire* (October 1911), 4.

¹³¹ *Flames of Fire* (November 1911), 3; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 125.

In this period, it is obvious that Boddy's main concern was to find how the Pentecostal movement could be accepted as part of the evangelical movement. As the writer of *Y.M.C.A. Flashes* remarks, 'Boddy sought to combine Church order with Evangelistic zeal.'¹³² His evangelical enthusiasm involved him in the Keswick movement, the PLP and other evangelistic unions. Such involvement made Boddy persist with the idea that the Pentecostal movement should be an interdenominational movement rather than turning it into a new Pentecostal denomination.

With his interdenominational inclinations, the incorporation of evangelical theology, namely the theology of the Blood, into the Pentecostal movement can be interpreted as an attempt to have the Pentecostal movement accepted as a sound evangelical movement. This effort was reinforced when Polhill, who was a prominent figure among the evangelicals, joined in the Pentecostal movement. However, it was two-edged sword: the effort to be part of the evangelical movement became a reason for excluding some Pentecostals from the main direction of the Pentecostal movement as it continued to grow.

¹³² Boddy was Clerical Secretary of the Lay Evangelists for the Deanery of Wearmouth and sympathise with the aims of the Y.M.C.A. 'Rev. Alex. A. Boddy, F.R.G.S.,' *Y.M.C.A. Flashes* Vol.II, No.8 (April 1895), 86.

CHAPTER FOUR

EMERGENCE OF DENOMINATIONALISM AND THE FIRST DIVISION IN BRITISH PENTECOSTALISM

As briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, Boddy played a key role, with Polhill, in forming the character of British Pentecostalism. From its introduction, Pentecostalism in Britain faced significant opposition mainly from evangelicals, so most of Boddy's endeavour was to vindicate the Pentecostal movement when it was criticised.

Bebbington's four characteristics of evangelicalism are easy to detect in British Pentecostalism. In addition, as Randall argues, most Pentecostals endeavoured to prove the soundness of the Pentecostal movement 'by stressing continuity with conservative evangelical tradition.'¹ This was mainly by dint of Boddy's effort in the formative periods. However, as the number of Pentecostal centres grew, diverse forms of Pentecostal practice appeared from the Pentecostal side. This diversity in Pentecostal practice caused conflict and division within the Pentecostal camp. In this chapter, the emergence of denominationalism is examined, together with its impact on the leadership of Boddy.

1. William Oliver Hutchinson, an Overlooked and Underestimated Figure in Britain's Pentecostal History

Though William Oliver Hutchinson played no little role in the Pentecostal movement from its beginning, his contribution has been overlooked or underestimated. The criticism of Worsfold that the role of the early Pentecostal leaders connected with the AFC was neglected (or underestimated or misjudged) by their contemporaries has some basis.² What is more, most of the Pentecostal writings have unfairly judged the

¹ Ian M. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences: A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism 1918-1939* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), 207.

² Worsfold, *Origins of the Apostolic Church*, xxvii.

contribution of Hutchinson and the first Pentecostal denomination, the AFC, in British Pentecostal history. Instead, his role is often too briefly touched on, or even omitted. Neither Boulton nor Donald Gee gives Hutchinson any credit for forming the first Pentecostal denomination.³ Though George Jeffreys was closely connected with Hutchinson, Boulton omits his name from the biography of George Jeffreys. The main cause of the division within the AFC at the time of writing the biography was his eccentric doctrines, such as British Israelism, which was the belief that Britain had a messianic role in the company of the nations of Ephraim in the Kingdom of Christ.⁴ Similarly, Gee also briefly mentioned the foundation of the AFC as the first division and mainly focused on the role of figures who became members of the AOG, to which Gee himself belonged.⁵ Hollenweger also left out the work of Hutchinson and started to write the history of the Apostolic Church, from the appearance of D. P. Williams who in 1915 separated from Hutchinson after a rift over financial affairs and the issue of church government.⁶ Kay also ignored the importance of Hutchinson, following Hollenweger's account of the history of the Apostolic Church.⁷ Even Turnbull, the Apostolic Church historian who was recognised as a prophet after he interpreted speaking in tongues at an evening meeting at the age of 12, did not acknowledge the significance of Hutchinson, instead placing much weight on the role of D. P. Williams.⁸ It was not until the 1990s that some academics started to give Hutchinson fair credit.⁹ Among them, Hathaway regards Hutchinson highly as the father of the Pentecostal denominations in Britain,¹⁰

³ Boulton, *George Jeffreys*.

⁴ *Showers of Blessing* (July-August 1922), 9.

⁵ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 73-74.

⁶ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 191.

⁷ Kay, *Inside Story*, 45-46.

⁸ Thomas Napier Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought* (Bradford: The Puritan Press, 1959).

⁹ Worsfold devotes a great deal of space in his book to describing the work of Hutchinson. Worsfold, *Origins of the Apostolic Church*.

¹⁰ Malcolm R. Hathaway, 'The Role of William Oliver Hutchinson and the Apostolic Faith Church in the formation of British Pentecostal Churches,' *JEPTA* Vol. XVI (1996), 40.

and considers him the counterpart of Boddy, who was constantly opposed to the formation of any Pentecostal denomination.

2. The Process of Forming of the AFC

2.1. Hutchinson and the Founding of Emmanuel Mission Hall

Hutchinson was born at Blackhill, Durham on 11 January 1864 and brought up by Primitive Methodist parents. His father was a lay preacher and engaged in the business of a merchant tailor. After the death of his parents when he was eight, he was reared by his grandparents, who were also Primitive Methodists.¹¹ Following a voice from God saying ‘Go to be a soldier,’ he stayed in military service until he was nearly killed in the Boer War (1899-1902). In particular he was influenced at this period by the revival meetings of Moody and Sankey. After he was invalided out of the army in 1903, he became involved in evangelistic work as a Methodist lay preacher. During this time, he believed that baptism with full immersion was a command in the Bible and he supported the Baptist Church.¹² His contact with Reader Harris, who thought sanctification was the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and the stimulus of the Welsh revival made him seek a more outstanding experience of the Holy Spirit than being a stipendiary minister in a local Baptist Church.¹³ His inclination for relying on prophetic messages and the influence of revivalism can already be observed in his life before his contact with Pentecostalism.

His Pentecostal experience in the first Sunderland conference healed him of his severe heart disease and he received speaking in tongues.¹⁴ He was pleading the Blood for two

¹¹ Kent White, *The Word of God Coming Again* (Winton, UK: The Apostolic Faith Church, 1919), 29-30.

¹² Worsfold, *Origins of the Apostolic Church*, 33.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

¹⁴ *Confidence Supplement* (30 June 1908), 2.

hours to receive the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues.¹⁵ This first experience of speaking in tongues perhaps explains why he later claimed that the repetition of 'the Blood' was an important way to enter into experience of the Holy Spirit.

As soon as he reached Bournemouth, he began to hold prayer meetings every evening at his house, where his daughter received speaking in tongues.¹⁶ The number of people who attended the meetings became so large that they needed new premises. On 5 November 1908¹⁷ Hutchinson was able by voluntary offerings to open Emmanuel Mission Hall, which was the first Pentecostal church building in the British Isles.¹⁸ It could accommodate about 250 people. Hutchinson reported at the opening service, where Polhill and Polman of Amsterdam were present, that all necessary funds for the building were received as answers to prayer.¹⁹

The influence of Hutchinson in the Pentecostal movement increased through the publication of *Showers of Blessing*, the official magazine of the AFC from January 1910. In the early years of the Pentecostal movement, *Confidence* was the only Pentecostal magazine in Britain. However, several local leaders started to issue new magazines.²⁰ Among them, *Showers of Blessing* published more than 10,000 copies annually throughout the British Isles. It became an important way to deliver news from the Pentecostal assemblies and attracted those who had sought the baptism of the Holy

¹⁵ Worsfold, *Origins of the Apostolic Church*, 34.

¹⁶ *Confidence* No.5 (15 August 1908), 12.

¹⁷ Worsfold dated the erection of Emmanuel Hall as 5 November 1909. However, according to *Confidence* the date must be in 1908. Worsfold, *Origin of the Apostolic Church*, 31; cf. *Confidence* No.8 (15 November 1908), 23.

¹⁸ The specific account of the way in which the needed funds for the hall were dramatically provided is given in the first issue of *Showers of Blessing*. *Showers of Blessing* No.1 (January 1910), 1.

¹⁹ *Confidence* No.8 (15 November 1908), 23.

²⁰ They were *Fragment of Flame* (Cecil Polhill), *Victory* (Stanley Frodsham), *Showers of Blessing* (William Hutchinson), *Spirit of Truth* (E. L. Lake), *Abundance of Grace* (Unknown editor), *Omega* (Unknown editor), *The Overcoming Life* (Cantel). *Confidence* Vol.III, No3 (March 1910), 61.

Spirit with speaking in tongues and divine healing. The notice asking visitors to write to Hutchinson to secure rooms near Emmanuel Hall implies that there had been numerous visitors to Hutchinson's church.²¹

It is uncertain when Hutchison started using the name of the AFC. He first used the title in print in the seventh issue of *Showers of Blessing* in 1910, noting that he registered the Emmanuel Mission Hall as the AFC and had acquired a licence for marriages.²² The name 'Apostolic Faith' was familiar to Hutchinson because the Pentecostal magazine entitled *The Apostolic Faith*²³ (edited by William J. Seymour) had wide coverage not only in the USA but also in the UK. As a result, many early Pentecostals considered the Pentecostal movement to be the Apostolic Faith movement. As Worsfold argues, Hutchinson must have been a regular reader of this magazine and later used this title for his own denomination.²⁴

2.2. Combination with the Kilsyth Assembly

The Pentecostal movement reached Kilsyth through A. T. Bell of Dunfermline²⁵ and attracted public attention by the extraordinary scenes reported in newspapers such as *The Kilsyth Chronicle*, when Andrew Bell and Victor Wilson conducted revival meetings at Westport Hall, Kilsyth from late January to the beginning of February 1908.²⁶ Andrew Murdoch, a pivotal leader of West Hall, received the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues at one of these meetings, and around two hundred people received speaking in tongues in this period.²⁷ Having heard of the news of the

²¹ *Showers of Blessing* No.1 (January 1910), 5.

²² *Showers of Blessing* No.17 (July 1915), 7.

²³ Charles Parham also edited *Apostolic Faith* from March 1899. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, 13.

²⁴ Worsfold, *Origin of Apostolic Church*, 53.

²⁵ *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 11.

²⁶ James Hutchison, *Weavers, Miners and the Open Book* (Kilsyth, Scotland: Kelvinprint, 1986), 155-156.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Pentecostal revival at Kilsyth, Boddy visited the Kilsyth assembly to see the Pentecostal blessing there. The meetings were exceedingly emotional, as Boddy reported in the first issue of *Confidence*: 'The Writer [Boddy] was so overwhelmed by the sights and scenes which met him on some of last days of March, that he could say, "Behold, the one half was not told me."' Friday night's meeting and those of Saturday and Sunday (March 28-30) were like his Norwegian experiences of just a year before, in those Spirit-swept gatherings in Christiania.²⁸ Judging from his remarks, the meetings in both Kilsyth and Norway were more emotional than those in Sunderland, where Boddy was vicar.

Most of all, its location allowed the Kilsyth centre to play a decisive role in spreading the Pentecostal movement to Scotland and Ireland. Boddy wrote that many people had visited Kilsyth from all quarters.²⁹ It was through the meetings there that some Christians in Ireland received speaking in tongues and established Pentecostal meetings in their own country. Robert J. Kerr and Joseph H. Gray were the first persons who experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues in Sunderland in 1907. A few Christians from Ireland, including Sam Finlay, who later offered his home for prayer meetings, received the baptism of the Spirit at Kilsyth during the Easter conference in 1908.³⁰ The Kilsyth centre was also the pivot of the Pentecostal centres in Scotland. John Martin from Motherwell received speaking in tongues in the kitchen of Murdoch's house.³¹ John Miller of Glasgow experienced a more definite Pentecostal baptism at Kilsyth, though his first speaking in tongues occurred when Boddy laid his hands on him at Sunderland.³² In addition, the Kilsyth assembly sent deputations to other assemblies to help those who had prayed for the Pentecostal blessing receive speaking in tongues. For example, Robert Gibson, a leader of the Clydebank assembly

²⁸ *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 8.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁰ *Supplement to Confidence* (May 1908), 3; Robinson, *Pentecostal Origins*, 68-69.

³¹ *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 12-13.

³² *Confidence* No.2 (May 1908), 12.

in Scotland, with his brother received speaking in tongues under the guidance of the sisters from the Kilsyth centre.³³ It is obvious that the influence of the Kilsyth assembly on the Pentecostal leaders in Scotland was more remarkable than that of Sunderland.

Furthermore, the centre became an important bridgehead for forming the AFC. In *Confidence*, the name of Hutchinson first appears in the July issue of 1908 as a leader of the Pentecostal centre at Winton, Bournemouth.³⁴ It is not clear when Hutchinson became acquainted with Murdoch. However, they must have known each other before the Pentecostal movement started in Sunderland.³⁵ Hutchinson received the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues at the vicarage of All Saints' Church, Sunderland during the first International Pentecostal Conference in June 1908. Having heard about the Pentecostal blessings at Sunderland, Hutchinson attended the conference, seeking speaking in tongues. He finally got his baptism of the Spirit when Murdoch laid his hands on him after he had been pleading the Blood for two hours.³⁶ He was never to doubt the authenticity of pleading the Blood as a way to receive speaking in tongues and finally accepted it as an official belief of the AFC. According to White, the news of the manifestation of the gifts of interpretation and prophecy in Bournemouth led Murdoch to invite Hutchinson to speak at the meeting in Kilsyth in 1909, and their fellowship became firm in two years.³⁷ Murdoch was appointed as an apostle at the London conference of the AFC in June 1914.³⁸

In fact, the beliefs of the AFC, which were rejected by the mainstream of British Pentecostals, originated from the practice of Andrew Murdoch. Clearly, the support of

³³ Robert Gibson to Boddy, *Confidence* No.9 (15 December 1908), 10-11.

³⁴ *Confidence* No.4 (July 1908), 2.

³⁵ It may be through the work of the Evangelistic Mission which opened on 12 June 1897 that Hutchinson first met Murdoch, who was an elder of the Mission. Gordon Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two* (Barnsley: privately published, 2003), 19.

³⁶ White, *Word of God Coming Again*, 86.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 183.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 184.

Murdoch helped the AFC to extend their influence throughout Scotland. However, it became the direct reason for his resignation from the PMU Council in November 1913.³⁹

2.3. Organising the Welsh Pentecostals into the AFC

Apart from the relationship with the Scottish Pentecostals, Hutchinson built close relationships with some Pentecostal assemblies in Wales. In this early period, the roles of James Brooke, who started to attend Emmanuel Mission Hall in 1909, and Daniel Powell Williams, who had been a miner and was to become the founder of the Apostolic Church after its secession from the AFC in 1916, were significant. Hutchinson's first visit to a Pentecostal assembly in Wales was in 1909, but it was the Pentecostal assembly at Penygroes which offered Hutchinson a bridgehead for extending his influence in the Principality.

James Brooke, a former pastor of Cardigan Road Baptist Church in Winton,⁴⁰ attended Emmanuel Mission Hall and became Hutchinson's assistant. In February 1910, Hutchinson sent him to take charge of the Pentecostal assembly in Swansea, and soon after his arrival the assembly moved to Bellevue Chapel, Swansea where he ministered until he was sent abroad in February 1912 to support the AFC as the Chief Overseer for South Africa.⁴¹

Another important figure in the history of the AFC was Daniel Powell Williams, who first contacted Pentecostalism in 1909 while on holiday at Aberaeron, Cardiganshire. He received the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues on a hill overlooking a

³⁹ T. H. Mundell to James H. Breeze (17 November 1913), DGC. Breeze, J. S. File.

⁴⁰ Henry Byron Llewellyn, 'A Study of the History and Thought of the Apostolic Church in Wales in the Context of Pentecostalism' (M. Phil. Thesis, University of Wales, 1997), 30.

⁴¹ 'Apostolic Faith Churches,' *Showers of Blessing*, No.12 (n.d.), 16; Worsfold, *Origin of Apostolic Church*, 64-65.

bay when he prayed with some Pentecostals.⁴² In 1910 he started to attend the Evangelistic Hall in Penygroes, having separated from the Congregational church in which he had been a local preacher.⁴³ The Hall was erected by those who were converted and received the blessing during the Welsh Revival of 1904-05, so emotionalism and prophecy were common characteristics. He was ordained by Hutchinson and J. Dennis in 1910, after Mrs Kenny's prophecy that commanded them to go Penygroes to ordain D. P. Williams. However, as some members of the Hall did not accept D. P. Williams as their ordained leader, he moved to another place, where they were identified as the Penygroes church of the AFC.⁴⁴

With these two members mentioned above, Hutchinson organised some Pentecostal assemblies in Wales in the name of the AFC. In 1911, there were thirteen assemblies in Wales which affiliated with Hutchinson, listed below:

Swansea (Pastor J. Brooke), Aberkentfig (Pastor Hill), Penygroes (Pastor Dan Williams), Ammonford (Bro. Thomas), Llwynhendy (Bro. Thomas Jones), Aberaeron (Bro. Williams), Crosshands (Bro. Morgan), Glanamman (Bro. D. J. Davis), Trecynon (Bro. James Forward), Pontardawe (Bro. W. James), Mountain Ash (Bro. Thomas), Seven Sisters (Bro. E. Jones), Llandebie (Bro. Stephen Bowen)⁴⁵

In addition, George Jeffreys, the founder of the Elim Pentecostal Alliance (hereafter, EPA), was influenced by Hutchinson. George Jeffreys sent a letter to Hutchinson to thank him for his prayers after he received the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues in August 1910.⁴⁶ The letter shows there had been at least some connection

⁴² Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904*, 193.

⁴³ Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 25.

⁴⁴ Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 29.

⁴⁵ *Showers of Blessing* No.8 (n.d.), 8-9.

⁴⁶ Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, 25-26.

between them before George Jeffreys entered Preston Bible College, where he trained under the superintendence of Thomas Myerscough.

In spite of considerable criticism from within and outside of the Pentecostal movement, the AFC steadily extended its influence not only in Britain but also in Canada and South Africa. According to *Showers of Blessing*, there were 25 AFCs before the outbreak of WW1 (England: 7 churches, Wales: 11 churches, Scotland: 4 churches, Canada: 1 church, South Africa: 2 churches).⁴⁷ The number of churches continued to grow until the Welsh assemblies seceded from the AFC and formed the Apostolic Church under the leadership of D. P. Williams in 1915.

3. The Theology of the AFC

Kent White gives the two significant factors for the success of Hutchinson's church in Bournemouth. They are the stress on the pleading of the Blood and the use of the gifts of interpretation and prophecy by which God has spoken.⁴⁸ Although these two points were often criticised by the key leaders of British Pentecostalism, the AFC cherished these two doctrines as their central tenets and defended them at all costs.

3.1. Practice of the Pleading of the Blood

As Bebbington argues, the Blood of Christ has been a core value of evangelicalism and has been emphasised as a crucial factor of the Christian faith. Similarly the early

⁴⁷ The churches in England were Bournemouth (Pastor W. O. Hutchinson), London (Bro. W. P. Roberts), Gateshead (Pastor J. Hume), Leeds (Bro. F. W. Frisby), Leicester (Bro. H. J. Donne), Ottery and other places in Devonshire (Pastor Bovett), Trowbridge (Bro. J. W. Coleman). The Four churches in Scotland were Kilsyth (Pastor A. Murdock), Glasgow and Motherwell (Pastor J. McPhee), Portobello (Bro. J. Ferguson) and Coatbridge (Bro. T. McPhee). The churches in Wales were Penygroes (Pastor D. Williams), Swansea (Pastor Boulton), Ammanford (Bro. J. W. Thomas), Cross Hands (Bro. D. C. Morgan), Glanamman (Bro. D. J. Davies), Llandebie (Bro. S. Bowen), Llwynhendy (Bro. Thos. Jones), Mountain Ash (Bro. T. Thomas), Pontardawe (Bro. W. James), Trecynon (Bro. J. Forward) and Tumble (Bro. D. J. Morgan). The churches and leaders in other countries were Toronto (Pastor J. Jack), Johannesburg (Chief Overseer for South Africa, Pastor J. Brooke) and Boksburg North (Pastor S. B. Swift). *Showers and Blessing* No.12 (n.d.), 12.

⁴⁸ White, *Word of God Coming Again*, 279.

Pentecostals also laid emphasis on the theme of the Blood and even considered it a suitable medium to receive the gifts of the Spirit. They even considered that the mere repetition of the word 'Blood' was an important way to receive the baptism of the Spirit.

3.1.1. The Origin of the Practice

Worsfold argues that the origin of the popular teaching of 'pleading of the Blood of Christ' in the AFC can be traced to a Pentecostal assembly at Kilsyth.⁴⁹ This practice was also witnessed when Boddy visited the assembly during the Easter holiday of 1908. Boddy was impressed by the scenes of people rapidly repeating the word, 'Blood,' which led to their speaking in tongues. He reports on this practice of repetition at the Kilsyth meetings:

Sometimes, in the after-meetings, everyone will be earnestly engaged in prayer. Strong men wrestling with God, and especially pleading the Blood of the Lord, His finished work through the Blood, the Victory obtained through the Blood. All this they cover and mean when they just rapidly repeat, "Blood, Blood, Blood," and often they find the Holy Spirit falling upon them and speaking with other tongues.⁵⁰

He highly recommended the Kilsyth meeting to those who wanted to receive speaking in tongues, commenting that 'it would be strange, indeed, if anyone really seeking in the Baptism of the Holy Spirit should not get it at Kilsyth.'⁵¹

White points out that the practice of pleading of Blood also had no little influence in Sunderland and it became an important way to receive speaking in tongues, as the following quotation shows.

⁴⁹ Worsfold, *Origin of Apostolic Church*, 45.

⁵⁰ Alexander A. Boddy, 'A Visit to Kilsyth,' *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 10.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

Then he and Mrs Boddy pled the Blood in their meetings in Sunderland. In Sunderland the baptisms they had at first, without pleading the Blood, had practically ceased, and John Martin was sent down there, and commenced pleading the Blood; the power of the Spirit was manifest anew, and many were baptised.⁵²

The news of the Kilsyth meetings reached Seymour of Azusa Street and he included it in the May issue of *The Apostolic Faith* in 1908, quoting from the first issue of *Confidence*.⁵³ In addition, we can find several persons who received speaking in tongues as a result of repeating the word 'Blood,' in particular among the Pentecostal leaders in Scotland. John Martin, the leader of the Motherwell assembly, received speaking in tongues when he repeated this word in Andrew Murdoch's kitchen.⁵⁴ John Miller of Glasgow also received speaking in tongues at Murdoch's house in the same way.⁵⁵ Geo. E. Beady of Pontesford in Shrewsbury prayed for nine months for the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues, pleading the Blood and finally received speaking in tongues while he was pleading the Blood of Christ.⁵⁶

3.1.2. Boddy's Effort in Building a Theological Basis for Pleading the Blood

The famous hymn of L. E. Jones composed in 1899, *Power in the Blood*, was one of Boddy's favourites. Many meetings in Sunderland began with this hymn and considerable cases of healings occurred at the meetings, which were related with the theme of the Blood.⁵⁷ Later, it seemed that Boddy thought the practice of Pleading of the Blood needed a theological foundation, so he wrote *Pleading The Blood* and inserted it in *Confidence*. Boddy claims in the article that the Blood is the precondition of the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues, as well as of experiencing divine

⁵² White, *Word of God Coming Again*, 86.

⁵³ *The Apostolic Faith* (May 1908), 1.

⁵⁴ *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 12-13.

⁵⁵ *Confidence* No.2 (May 1908), 12.

⁵⁶ *Confidence* No.8 (15 November 1908), 11, 13.

⁵⁷ Peter Lavin, *Alexander Boddy, Pastor and Prophet* (Sunderland: Wearside Historic Churches Group, 1986), 48.

healing. He suggests the three steps in which the Blood of Christ is the connecting medium. These steps are salvation, sanctification and the full baptism. With regard to the work of salvation, the penitents should plead the Blood to redeem their sin; the saved persons should also plead the Blood in order to be sanctified; the sanctified believers still need to plead the Blood to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and afterwards those who have received the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues should continue to plead the Blood to receive more power to evangelise the world.⁵⁸ Although the emphasis on the Blood is a general characteristic of evangelicals, it is obvious that Boddy significantly stressed the importance of the Blood as a way to receive speaking in tongues. Here, Boddy's effort to make Pentecostalism sound and acceptable in the eyes of evangelicals can be observed.

Cornelis van der Laan claims that the function of the Blood in the Pentecostal messages was forgiveness of sins, sanctification and protection from evil forces.⁵⁹ However, Boddy extended its function to making it a precondition for the baptism of the Holy Spirit and a continual necessity, even after the baptism of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁰ He believed that the Blood was the safety-line which would prevent the Pentecostal movement from becoming derailed from the track of sound revivalism. Although the practice of repetition of the Blood can be traced to the Kilsyth assembly near Glasgow,⁶¹ Boddy was a key figure in spreading the importance of the Blood of Christ as a precondition for receiving the Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Spirit. Boddy's emphasis on the Blood justified the early Pentecostal leaders in repeating the word incessantly to induce speaking in tongues.

⁵⁸ A. A. Boddy, 'Pleading The Blood,' *Confidence* No.5 (15 August 1908), 4-5.

⁵⁹ Cornelis van der Laan, *Sectarian against His Will: Gerrit Roelof Polman and the Birth of Pentecostalism in the Netherlands* (Metuchen, N.J., & London: Scarecrow Press, 1991), 224.

⁶⁰ Boddy, 'Pleading the Blood,' 4-5.

⁶¹ Worsfold, *Origins of the Apostolic Church*, 45.

Boddy's article was given a favourable reception by the Pentecostals in the small assemblies all over Britain. For example, Victor Wilson, who was the leader of the Motherwell assembly and attended the Pentecostal meeting at Kilsyth in Scotland, sent Boddy a letter expressing his gladness at seeing the article in *Confidence*. He believed that the honouring of the Blood was the main difference between the true Christianity in which he includes the Pentecostal movement and Christian Science, Spiritualism and the New Theology.⁶² It seemed that Boddy thought his article was an important product of the Pentecostals, so he published it in the form of a booklet and advertised it in *Confidence* from September 1908 with a special index mark (15) to attract attention.⁶³

However, it seems to have been during the summer of 1909 that opposition arose among the Pentecostals to the practice of pleading of the Blood. At the Leaders' Meeting of the Sunderland International Pentecostal Congress (1-4 June 1909), there was considerable discussion on speaking in tongues. Paul of Germany expressed his opposition to the practice. He said that 'the repetition of the words "Blood" or "Jesus," or rubbing the neck [to incur speaking in tongues] was not scriptural.'⁶⁴ Boddy as the convener of the Sunderland Conference, finally requested to the participants not to attempt to incur speaking in tongues 'by the repetition of any word, however sacred.'⁶⁵

Paul's opinion was again confirmed during Boddy's visit to the USA from 15 June to 30 June, 1909.⁶⁶ When he attended the Leaders' Meeting at the Camp Meeting in Ohio, Cossam spoke against the rapid repetition of a word to provoke speaking in tongues because he thought it was 'unscriptural and unapostolic,' and all of the leaders present agreed with this view.⁶⁷ Above all, the criticism by Barratt decisively influenced

⁶² *Confidence* No.6 (15 September 1908), 13.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁴ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.8 (August 1909), 179.

⁶⁵ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.7 (July 1909), 153.

⁶⁶ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.7 (July 1909), 144; *Confidence* Vol.II, No.9 (September 1909), 200.

⁶⁷ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.8 (August 1909), 174.

Boddy. In Barratt's letter to Boddy on 15 June 1909, he clearly opposed the practice of repetition of the word 'Blood':

My personal objections to this have been that: 1. It looks much like a *trick* to help forward the tongues. 2. There is a danger of self-suggestion in it. 3. Many might be led to speak in tongues that way (by human influence or worked-up sounds) and *not have the real baptism*. 4. If man keeps his mind centred on Christ, and makes over the use of his tongues to God, the Holy Spirit will know how to use it without any mechanical help on our parts. They spoke "as the Spirit gave utterance."⁶⁸ (Original italics)

Although he acknowledged the importance of the Blood in principle, he limited the use of its repetition in choruses and in prayer. He denied that the authenticity of speaking in tongues related to the practice.⁶⁹ There is no doubt that Barratt's letter influenced Boddy's decision not to use *Confidence* to advertise his booklet entitled, *Pleading the Blood*. Soon after both Barratt and Paul had criticised the practice of 'Pleading of the Blood' Boddy deleted the advertisement for this booklet from the list of free Pentecostal publications in *Confidence*.⁷⁰ Boddy declared against the method of repetition of a certain word at the Sunderland Conference in 1913 when the severance of the AFC from the mainstream Pentecostal movement became apparent. He says in opposition to this practice:

In the district in which the writer lived those seeking for the gift of tongues had been advised "to move their tongues and say what might seem to be gibberish to them until the language of an unknown tongue was given to them." The Chairman [Boddy] commented: "We would always warn you against false methods – the methods of the flesh. These sooner or later bring trouble. It is right that we should desire God's gifts, but it is no use trying to hurry up things in a mechanical, artificial way."⁷¹

⁶⁸ Ibid., 187.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ This can be detected if we compare the lists of free Pentecostal publications in the August issue with the previous issues. *Confidence* Vol.II, No.7 (July 1909), 168; (August 1909), 192.

⁷¹ *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.6 (June 1913), 115.

3.1.3. Hutchinson's Adaptation of the Practice of Pleading of the Blood

In contrast to the opposition of pivotal leaders, pleading of the Blood was popularly practised at the Emmanuel Mission Hall in Winton, Bournemouth. William Evans, who joined a prayer meeting at the Emmanuel Mission Hall, wrote to Boddy about the service:

During the service of worship and adoration to Jesus and the Trinity, one dear brother, who had laid hand on me both for healing and the Baptism, was led out in travail of soul for all nations and all lands, pleading earnestly the Blood.⁷²

Outwardly, Hutchinson's teaching was not different from that of Boddy. Rather, it was nearly the same apart from the doctrine of water baptism. Hutchinson proclaimed in the first issue of *Showers of Blessing* that the Emmanuel Mission Hall wished to be 'Unsectarian, Evangelical and Pentecostal.'⁷³ His belief was consistent with the holiness teachings which Boddy also supported. He proclaims under the title of 'What We Believe and Teach':

Teaching: - Repentance, Confession and Restitution; Justification by faith in the Lord Jesus; Water Baptism by Immersion; Sanctification, that act of Grace through which the Blood of Jesus cleanses us from all sin and makes holy; the Baptism of the Holy Ghost as received on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii.4), with signs following (Mark xvi.17); Divine Healing; the Lord's Supper; the soon coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.⁷⁴

It must be noted that he did not initially relate the Blood itself with the baptism of the Spirit. Instead, following the evangelical tradition, he emphasised that the Blood of Christ sanctified the believer. This may have been his deliberate choice to set his church

⁷² *Confidence* Vol.II, No.3 (March 1909), 61.

⁷³ *Showers of Blessing* No.1 (January 1910), 5.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

in line with evangelical tradition. He wrote in *Showers of Blessings* that they ‘deliberately hold and teach’ the doctrine to receive God’s every promise to the believers and to use it as a weapon against the power of evil.⁷⁵ Although he argued that they did not plead the Blood of Jesus in order to speak in tongues but to prevail against evil forces,⁷⁶ Hutchinson used the method in a practical way to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues. He wrote:

Look at Calvary for a moment. The Blood of the New Covenant is shed and a few people who believe in the Blood and that He is the Christ, they are of one accord, and what happens? The Holy Ghost comes upon them, they are Baptised, and all speak in tongues (they were all filled with glory, so full that some people thought they were drunk). We find that the Holy Ghost always answers to the Blood.⁷⁷

What is the difference between Boddy and Hutchinson regarding the belief in pleading of the Blood? Outwardly, the two stood on the same belief. However, while Boddy emphasises the ‘finished work’ of Calvary, based on the evangelical tradition in which he was raised, Hutchinson came to see this as a ‘new revelation’ which conferred power in the word ‘Blood’ for protection against Satan and to induce speaking in tongues. For Hutchinson, pleading of the Blood was an outward expression of an inward belief, and hence the practice was not to be suppressed but encouraged. Besides, the practice made it easy for those who sought to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues to get what they wanted. Worsfold mentions that ‘the emphasis of being filled with the Spirit had begun to wane, but with the new teaching of pleading the Blood, interest was greatly revived.’⁷⁸ Therefore, it is assumed that Hutchinson’s accommodation of pleading of the Blood met the demands of the Pentecostals of the

⁷⁵ *Showers of Blessing* No.6 (n.d.), 5.

⁷⁶ William Oliver Hutchinson, ‘Pleading the Blood of Jesus,’ *Showers of Blessing* No.5 (August and September 1910), 5-6.

⁷⁷ William Oliver Hutchinson, ‘Pleading the Blood of Jesus,’ *Showers of Blessing* No.6 (n.d.), 8.

⁷⁸ Worsfold, *Origins of the Apostolic Church*, 46.

time. While Boddy hesitated to continue spreading the teaching, Hutchinson boldly made an official announcement about it as an important teaching of the AFC, at the risk of having it excluded from the mainstream Pentecostal movement.

3.2. Its Emphasis on Charismata

With the stress on receiving speaking in tongues, as observed above, the emphasis on the Charismatic gifts was another characteristic of the AFC. Although it was true that the use of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the Pentecostal meetings was already a general feature, the AFC significantly emphasised it. As a result, many Pentecostals believed that the Church exceeded the limit allowed in the Bible. Boddy, as a moderate Pentecostal, pointed out that Satan works through ‘earnest, emotional, hysterical people who are truly longing after God and yet have little control over themselves.’⁷⁹ Following the evangelical tradition, he believed that prophecy could not have authority over the Written Word and should be subordinate to the Bible.

3.2.1. The Spoken Word of God as Infallibly God’s Word

The influential leaders of the AFC in its formative periods experienced the rejection of their ministry, due to their emphasis on prophecy. Hutchinson attended a Pentecostal conference at Holborn Town Hall in London from 31 May to 6 June 1911 at the direction of a prophecy which had been made in his church the previous spring. The conference was convened by Cecil Polhill and Hutchinson stood on the platform as a speaker with some other recognised leaders. After he had been speaking for a few minutes he was asked to stop, so he had to sit down. According to his own explanation, the reason for objecting to him was that ‘he believed the word coming through the gift of the Holy Spirit was the Word of God.’⁸⁰ This kind of experience also happened when Andrew Murdoch was called as the Pastor of the Kilsyth Assembly through

⁷⁹ A. A. Boddy, ‘A Tree of the Lord’s Planting,’ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.5 (May 1909), 112.

⁸⁰ Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 29.

prophecy, so division broke out between the believers in prophecy and those who rejected it.⁸¹ In the same way, D. P. Williams was rejected by some members at Penygroes, as mentioned above.

Hutchinson Dennis's article well presented the belief of the AFC in prophecies as the infallible Word of God. The article helps us understand the theological basis of the ministry of prophecies in the AFC. The church laid much emphasis on the charismatic ministries based on I Corinthians 12, 28. in which Paul wrote that 'God has appointed first of all apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, also those having gifts of healing, those able to help others, those with gifts of administration, and those speaking in different kinds of tongues.' The logic behind the church's claim is that first, many of the gifts are 'voice gifts, or oracles by which God makes known unto the Church, His Mind and Will.'⁸² Second, as the gifts were endowed when the Apostles laid on their hands, exactly the same gifts were also manifested in the AFC. Third, the divine order mentioned in the above verse is important, and the biblical evidence shows that the gifts were exerted under the supervision of the Apostles. Therefore, the practice and manifestation of the gifts in the AFC was genuine because they followed in full the order of God's revelation. He asserts that there were many false prophecies which do not follow the divine order so that they were against the Lord, and led to rebellion and confusion.⁸³ He affirmed that there was no difference between the Bible as the written Word and prophecies as the Spoken Word; both were identically the same. He declared that 'the Spoken Word of God given through the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, which He has imparted for that purpose, is infallible, and of God from beginning to end.'⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ibid., 30.

⁸² Hutchinson Dennis, 'A Talk on the Written and Spoken Word of God,' *Showers of Blessing* No.14 (April 1915), 4.

⁸³ Ibid., 4-6.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 4.

However, as Boddy was theologically educated at Durham University, he was cautious about the prophetic ministry. He expressed his concern over the earthly origin of prophecies and also denied that they could direct daily life. He stated his opinion when the subject of prophetic messages was discussed during the first Sunderland Conference in 1908:

He [Boddy] felt that there was no scriptural authority or precedent for making Tongues (with interpretation) into a Urim and Thummim Oracle for details of daily life. God gave guidance by “common sense,” which He controls when we are trusting Him to give us the mind of Christ.”⁸⁵

Boddy’s opinion on the use of prophecy was supported by Barratt. Barratt criticised those who had sought prophecies to guide their personal affairs, and argued that God has given common sense as a way of living. He also claimed that prophecies should have a biblical foundation.⁸⁶ Agreeing with Barratt, Boddy limited the role of prophecy to three purposes named in the Bible: edification, exhortation and comfort (1 Cor. xiv.3). In addition, he disapproved of the use of prophecy to direct individual lives, saying ‘Danger is approached when personal messages are sought in great earnestness or in a long time of silent waiting.’⁸⁷ He again maintained this opinion, with the support of Barratt, at the Pentecostal Conference in Germany on 8 to 11 December 1908. He claimed that personal guidance through prophecy or tongues with interpretation must not be expected, and that it had been ‘a source of perplexity.’⁸⁸ His opinion was widely supported at the Leaders’ Meeting on 4 July 1909. Daniel Awrey of Doxey, Oklahoma, who was one of the main speakers at the meeting and had witnessed an inadequate prophecy which had spoiled the Camp Meeting in Los Angeles, said ‘the Gift of Tongues may be used in two ways, under the anointing of the Spirit, and without the

⁸⁵ *Confidence* No.3 (30 June 1908), 15.

⁸⁶ T. B. Barratt, ‘Difficulties as to Messages,’ *Confidence* No.8 (15 November 1908), 21.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁸⁸ ‘Prophetic Message and their Trustworthiness,’ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.2 (February 1909), 42-44.

Spirit.’ Although the latter did not come from the devil but the human spirit, it put the human spirit in place of the Holy Spirit and produced false prophecies, doctrines and teachings. He affirmed that ‘it always pays to stand on the Written Word of God’ rather than prophecies.⁸⁹ On the second anniversary of the Pentecostal movement, he again stressed the importance of the Word and the danger of prophecies (or tongues with interpretations) for personal guidance. He wrote in *Confidence*:

There are earnest Pentecostal souls to-day who live on “good times” instead of getting deep into God through His blessed Word meditated on the stillness through the guidance of the Holy Spirit ... The Lord, too, has kept us at Sunderland from over-eagerness for personal messages, or exalting any human being into an oracle for personal guidance through Tongues, interpretation, or prophecy (!). Havoc has been wrought in different places through yielding to this, and we will not cease to warn against the danger.⁹⁰

Therefore, it is obvious that Boddy approved of only a limited use of prophecy, in contrast to Hutchinson, who widely applied prophecy in his ministry.

3.2.2. Practice of Healing through Handkerchiefs

The practice of using handkerchiefs for healing was popular in the Pisgah Home Movement of Finis Ewing Yoakum, M.D. (Physician). Although he was not recognised by Pentecostal leaders as a Pentecostal and did not fully support the Pentecostals’ understanding of the baptism of the Holy Spirit,⁹¹ he became well-known among the Pentecostals through his faith healing. One of his methods for healing was the use of handkerchiefs, which has a biblical foundation in Acts 19:12. People were healed when handkerchiefs and aprons touched by Paul were placed on the sick. After prayer, Yoakum sent handkerchiefs to those who were suffering from many different

⁸⁹ ‘Editor’s Report of the First Meeting on Second Day,’ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.8 (August 1909), 178-179.

⁹⁰ *Confidence*, Vol.III, No.9 (September 1910), 216-217.

⁹¹ *Word and Witness* Vol.9 (20 December 1913), 1.

diseases.⁹² Although some claimed that they had been healed through an anointed handkerchief, Boddy was sceptical about sending handkerchiefs on a large scale. He seems to have thought that it was not scriptural. He therefore asked Yoakum when he visited the Pisgah Home in the northern suburb of Los Angeles:

“Doctor, do you think it is Scriptural to use one of these handkerchiefs (as in a recent testimony in your paper, ‘Pisgah’), for deliverance from the pains of child-birth?” “Yes, he [Dr. Yoakum] replied,...⁹³

Although Boddy, probably influenced by Yoakum’s ministry, had previously sent a handkerchief to a sick woman in the hope that she might be healed in the name of Christ⁹⁴ and said at the South Shields Clerical Society on 1 December 1913 that healing through a handkerchief could be a form of healing,⁹⁵ it is clear that he did not think that the method was entirely scriptural.

By contrast, it seemed that healings through handkerchiefs were more popular in the AFC. Several cases were reported in *Showers of Blessing*. A man in great pain was healed when he used a handkerchief anointed with oil.⁹⁶ The cases of an invalid woman and a child who were healed in the same way were also reported in the magazine. Presumably, a great many requests for divine healing made Hutchinson insert a special note to alert his readers to firmly hold to the biblical basis of divine healing. The note says:

We would strongly advise all who think of coming to us, asking prayer, or sending handkerchiefs for the healing of the body that they get firmly

⁹² A. A. Boddy, ‘An Apostolic Mission,’ *Confidence* Vol.III, No.3 (March 1910), 57.

⁹³ A. A. Boddy, ‘The Editor in Southern California,’ *Confidence* Vol.V, No.11 (November 1912), 251.

⁹⁴ *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.4 (April 1911), 88.

⁹⁵ A. A. Boddy, ‘Faith Healing in Scripture and Experience,’ *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.12 (December 1913), 234.

⁹⁶ ‘Healings,’ *Showers of Blessing* No.5 (August & September 1910), 5.

grounded on the Written Word: Isaiah llii.,4-5, R.V.; Matt. Viii.,17; James v.,14-15.⁹⁷

The above quotation can give some indication that there must have been not a few people who had asked for a handkerchief anointed with oil. It can be said that this method of healing was accepted by the AFC, although for divine healing Hutchinson also emphasised the Word.

3.3. Other Doctrinal Differences

Water baptism by immersion was an issue showing clear difference between Boddy and Hutchinson. Hutchinson had been brought up in the Wesleyan tradition and mainly attended the Wesleyan Church but was not a little influenced by the Baptist Church. First, he was deeply influenced by a sermon by Charles Haddon Spurgeon, who was ‘the greatest English-speaking preacher’ of the nineteenth century.⁹⁸ When stationed in London in the Grenadier Guards, he was deeply moved by Spurgeon’s sermon and experienced a great ‘awakening and renewal of his whole life’ at the Metropolitan Tabernacle.⁹⁹ However, it was at Bournemouth that he came to support water baptism by full immersion. He was sent to Bournemouth as an Inspector of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1903 and became a member of the Bournemouth Baptist Church. He devoted himself to conducting meetings for young people and many of them experienced conversion. According to White, his work was interdenominational at this time, including his contact with Reader Harris of the PLP.¹⁰⁰ Although it is unknown what motive made him attend the Baptist Church, he came to believe that immersion was the true method of baptism for believers and finally he baptised only by

⁹⁷ *Showers of Blessing* No.6 (n.d.), 3.

⁹⁸ Bebbington, *Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 37.

⁹⁹ White, *Word of God Coming Again*, 37.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

immersion.¹⁰¹ As a result, he officially declared the importance of water baptism by immersion, unlike Boddy, who practised infant baptism:

We feel it necessary at this time to emphasise that we believe and teach Water Baptism by Immersion for all believers. ... We recommend you, dear Brother and Sister, after that you have believed, to be immersed in water.¹⁰²

Hutchinson included the doctrine of water baptism by immersion whenever he had space in his magazine. Although there had been several cases of Pentecostals conducting baptism by immersion, Hutchinson officially insisted through his magazine that all believers should be baptised by immersion, saying that this was the real biblical method of baptism.¹⁰³ Instead of infant baptism, he practised the dedication of infants.¹⁰⁴ In contrast to Hutchinson, Boddy preserved infant baptism only, following the Anglican tradition. Infant baptism became a disputed issue and was often attacked by Nonconformist Pentecostals.

4. The Formation of the AFC and Its Influence

Although Sunderland had been an important centre of the Pentecostalism from its beginnings, there soon appeared other centres which took over as hubs of the movement. The Kilsyth assembly, for example, had more geographical advantages than Sunderland. As a result, it became a centre for the dissemination of Pentecostalism throughout Scotland and Ireland.

The formation of the AFC presaged the emergence of Pentecostal denominations. Through forging a relationship with local Pentecostal centres, it proliferated widely in

¹⁰¹ Weeks, *Chapter Twenty Two*, 11.

¹⁰² 'Teaching From the "Word",' *Showers of Blessing* No.6 (n.d.), 5.

¹⁰³ 'What the Apostolic Faith Church Believe and Teach,' *Showers and Blessing* No.12 (n.d.), 10.

¹⁰⁴ *Showers of Blessing* Vol.III, No.27 (May-June 1922), ii.

many parts of the British Isles, in particular in Scotland and Wales. However, the exclusion of the AFC from the mainline Pentecostal movement supported by Boddy, in fact, resulted in his losing his hope to see an ecumenical trend within the Pentecostals, though he still held the leading role in the main line of the movement. It was at about this period that the leadership became diverse. To stick to his form of evangelicalism meant the inevitable exclusion of the extreme form of Pentecostalism found in the AFC. Speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit baptism had been the common denominator which could bring unity to the Pentecostal movement. However, after the division, it lost status as the common factor binding all Pentecostals together.

The emergence of the AFC paved the way for new Pentecostal denominations to form. While some Pentecostals tried to organise their own Pentecostal bands to evangelise, others started to conduct a massive evangelistic campaign. Through their efforts, the numbers of Pentecostals increased so remarkably that Boddy's ecumenical hope was overshadowed by the demands of the Pentecostal denominations.

5. Conclusion

With the influential leaders failing to unite the whole Pentecostal movement, the AFC took the initiative in forming a Pentecostal denomination in Scotland and Wales. In particular, as Hollenweger observes, the members of the Apostolic Church in Scotland, which had its origin in the AFC, outnumbered those of the AOG or the Elim Church, although it was the smallest group of the three denominations in Great Britain.¹⁰⁵ Although there was serious opposition to the Pentecostal movement itself from the evangelicals as well as constant resistance to denominationalism, Hutchinson formed the AFC, believing that it had a proper succession in the Apostolic faith and preserved true Pentecostal blessing.

¹⁰⁵ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 191.

With regard to the Pentecostal theology, the AFC was more charismatically-oriented than other Pentecostals. Although some Pentecostals also used pleading the Blood as a basis for receiving speaking in tongues and acknowledged the significance of prophecy in the Pentecostal movement, the AFC laid more stress on these, making them their official doctrine.

However, Boddy's main concern for the Pentecostal movement was to make it not sectarian but an acceptable form of revivalism. Boddy had often heard that the movement was from the devil, as he confessed in the London Pentecostal conference:

In Sunderland I have seen thirty or forty boys walking along the street with boards hanging on their backs "The devil revival at All Saints' Church - come and hear how they do it" People crossed the road when they saw us - you know what that means.¹⁰⁶

Therefore, Boddy could not approve the practice of the pleading the Blood and prophecy for the direction of daily life, although, as well as the significance of the Blood, he did acknowledge prophecy as a gift of the Holy Spirit. He understood that these matters should be based on biblical texts. This seems to confirm that Boddy's thought was deeply rooted in evangelical tradition, in particular the absolute supremacy of the Bible. Therefore, it was natural for Boddy not to accept the doctrines of the AFC as a sound basis for the Pentecostal churches as a whole.

¹⁰⁶ *Flames of Fire* (July 1915), 2.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR AND EMERGENCE OF YOUNG PENTECOSTAL LEADERSHIP

The outbreak of WW1 became a turning-point for both Boddy and the young Pentecostals. While Boddy, as a patriotic Anglican, strongly supported British involvement in the war, the young Pentecostals had to suffer as conscientious objectors. It was at this time that Boddy was mainly involved in war-related ministry, including his ministry on the front-line, but his leadership of the Pentecostal movement began to decline. Equally, it was a difficult period for the young Pentecostals, who were sometimes imprisoned for their beliefs, yet they started to form a new leadership during this period.

The unity in the British Pentecostal movement slackened during the war because of the lack of leadership, now no longer exerted by the Anglican vicar. A new leadership was demanded to preserve its fervour. In this chapter, the main concern is the shift of leadership in British Pentecostalism during the war period.

1. The Outbreak of the War and the Pentecostals

The war, which was totally unexpected to Boddy, broke out at the end of July when he was at a Camp Meeting at Cazadero in North California. As a vicar of an industrial city near the North Sea coast, which is close to the Continent, he felt that he had to return to his parish, unlike Smith Wigglesworth, who decided to stay in the USA. As soon as the British government declared war against Germany on 4 August, Boddy returned to Sunderland, even at the risk of attack by German warships, cutting short his schedule in the USA. The geographical location of Sunderland put it within the war zone so several British ships and about 300 people altogether were sunk in the German attack.¹ This

¹ Alexander A. Boddy, 'The War,' *Confidence* Vol.VII, No.9 (September 1914), 164.

convinced Boddy that it was impossible to unite the Pentecostals in Europe, in particular the German Pentecostals. He expressed his anxiety about this loss of unity; ‘it is almost unthinkable that our beloved German brethren, such as Pastor Paul and others, should be separated from us by this cruel state of things.’² Although influential leaders such as Paul, Voget and Humburg were not involved in the war, less than a month after war broke out,³ some German Pentecostals joined the military, including both Paul’s son-in-law and his two sons, the younger of whom died in battle on 30 May 1915.⁴

1.1. Boddy’s Ministry during the War

The outbreak of the war forced Boddy to change his ministry. One significant change was that the international conference ceased to be held in Sunderland. It was the Sunderland International Conference which had helped Boddy retain the leadership not only of the Pentecostals in Britain but also of those on the Continent. However, the war prevented Boddy from convening the International Conference, because Sunderland was exposed to German attack. Just one month before the international conference was due to be held, a German Zeppelin dropped incendiary bombs near Sunderland, cutting the supply of electricity.⁵ As a result, the International Pentecostal Conference could not be held there and the venue had to be moved to the Caxton Hall in London, under the leadership of Cecil Polhill. As this was a great sorrow to Boddy, just before the beginning of the London Conference he held the Whitsuntide Meetings with local preachers in Sunderland for those who lived in the area, instead of inviting well-known Pentecostal preachers from elsewhere.⁶

² Ibid., 163

³ Alexander A. Boddy, ‘The War, A Night of Prayer,’ *Confidence* Vol.VII, No.10 (October 1914), 191.

⁴ Alexander A. Boddy, ‘The War,’ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.2 (February 1915), 28; *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.9 (September 1915), 178.

⁵ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.4 (April 1915), 77.

⁶ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.5 (May 1915), 84-85.

In addition to the change of venue, the scale of the International Conference was considerably smaller than the previous ones. The number of delegates at the first International Pentecostal Conference at Sunderland in 1908 was about 120.⁷ The scale of the conference had grown remarkably and visitors came not only from Europe and the United States but also from India. Boddy continued to report that the numbers of participants grew rapidly every year, although he did not calculate how many there were. In particular, the fact that the Mayor of Sunderland, E. H. Brown, who had been in sympathy with Pentecostalism, officially attended in 1912 to offer words of welcome to the participants shows how big the scale of the conference was.⁸ However, it was inevitable that the scale of the conference should be reduced owing to the outbreak of the war, despite its being held in London and not Sunderland. The platform was almost entirely occupied by the British Pentecostals because of the absence of delegates from the Continent and the United States. Polman from Holland and John Leech from Ireland were the only speakers from other countries and the rest, including Boddy and Polhill, were all British.⁹ As Boddy was not the convenor and his main concern was not about Pentecostal themes but about his ministry in relation to the war, he put more weight on his work in France than on the London conference convened by Polhill. In *Confidence* Boddy reports on this conference briefly, in contrast with the detailed reports on his ministry in the new situation.

In the early days of the war, Boddy indirectly stressed in *Confidence* the need for the British to become involved in war, using the writings of other ministers under the title of 'The War,' though he did not directly encourage the Christians of Britain to go to war. For example, Boddy included the article written by Graham Scroggie, the

⁷ *Confidence* No.5 (June 30 1908), 4.

⁸ *Confidence* Vol.V. No.6 (June 1912), 126.

⁹ The speakers were Cecil Polhill, John Leech, Crisp, Mundell, the Jeffreys' brothers, Moser, Mr and Mrs Phair, Tetchner, Polman, Smith Wigglesworth, E. W. Bacon, Glassby and Boddy. *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.6 (June 1915), 108.

influential pastor of the Bethesda Free Chapel from 1907 to 1916¹⁰ and a well-known speaker of Keswick. In the article, Scroggie appealed for participation in the war:

I am quite sympathetic with those who are genuinely exercised as to whether or not a Christian man should go to war ... The work of the Church of God as such, is to preach the Gospel, to make Christ known as Saviour and Lord, both by word and life. But in addition to that, it is the duty of Christians as citizens to suppress intemperance, to wage war against immorality, to protect children, to provide for the aged and helpless, and to prevent wanton cruelty to animals. ... Of this I am absolutely convinced, that God is with the Allies in this awful war...¹¹

In the beginning of 1915, the Bishop of Durham declared 'the War was a Holy War' against Teutonic militarism and sent a letter to every parish in the Durham diocese. In this letter he stressed the duty of the British to take part in the war:

As firmly as ever I hold that the War is a Holy War, waged for the preservation of Europe and the World from an unprecedented peril, the peril that a formidably non-Christian idea of national life, expressing itself in the tyrannous domination of a single great State, should be realised, to the misery of mankind.¹²

Moule upheld the policy of the British government over the war and stuck to his conviction that conscientious objectors were wrong.¹³ Boddy's patriotism was in line with Moule's. He inserted a letter from Moule in *Confidence* and urged the need to take arms against the forces of evil. It was only a natural consequence for Boddy to support the war because he was a priest of the state church, as Niebuhr argues:

Sects may and do condemn war; the nationalist churches must regard it as a part of that relatively divine order of nature which has been

¹⁰ *Bethesda Free Chapel Centenary 1845-1945* (n.p., n.d.), 20.

¹¹ Alexander A. Boddy, 'The War,' *Confidence* Vol.VII, No.11 (November 1914), 206.

¹² Alexander A. Boddy, 'Tipperary,' *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.1 (January 1915), 5.

¹³ Harford and Macdonald, *Handley Carr Glyn Moule*, 272-276.

instituted in a world of sin; hence they continue to accept war's catastrophes as divine judgements and its successes as divine blessings.¹⁴

During the war, Boddy's main work was his ministry in connection with military affairs. From the beginning of the war, he offered All Saints' Parish Hall as a military hospital for wounded soldiers.¹⁵ However, his involvement in the war reached its zenith when he decided to go to the front in France in the autumn of 1915. *The Statistics of the Military Effort of the British Empire During the Great War*, issued in 1922, shows that there were only 1,164 commissioned chaplains from all denominations, among them 602 from the Church of England.¹⁶ It cannot have been common that someone at the age of over sixty went to the front as a voluntary assistant at a time when the number of chaplains was relatively small. Boddy revealed, in the May issue of *Confidence*, that his plan was to go to the front in France as a voluntary assistant to the Chaplain of the Expeditionary Forces soon after the Whitsuntide Conference, which was to be held from 24 to 28 May at Caxton Hall, Westminster.¹⁷ His main concern was the soldiers who were at the front, so he appealed to the participants of the conference to pray for their salvation and for him when he went to the front to minister in connection with the Y.M.C.A.¹⁸ As soon as Boddy arrived in France on 29 May 1915, he visited some Y.M.C.A. centres in France where he witnessed the workers who were comforting and helping the soldiers.¹⁹ The Red Permit from the Headquarters of the British Expeditionary Force allowed Boddy to carry out his ministry among the British troops. He attended a funeral service where chaplains took part, their denominations reflecting the dead soldiers' beliefs, and also visited some French hospitals, where he gave copies

¹⁴ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books, 1965), 130.

¹⁵ Alexander A. Boddy, 'The War,' *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.1 (January 1915), 4.

¹⁶ The data are quoted in Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier : Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 89.

¹⁷ Alexander A. Boddy, 'Some Notes from Sunderland,' *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.5 (May 1915), 84.

¹⁸ Alexander A. Boddy, 'Notes of the London Pentecostal Conference,' *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.6 (June 1915), 109.

¹⁹ Alexander A. Boddy, 'Notes from France,' *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.7 (July 1915), 127-129.

of the gospel in French to the wounded soldiers. The most impressive experience was his visit to the battlefield, which needed a special permit from the Paris police authorities. He visited Meaux, a country town about twenty miles from Paris, where he walked over the battlefield and took a photo of the tragic spectacle of the battle of the Marne. He became very sympathetic with those who were fighting at the front:

What would our feeling be if the battlefields were transferred to Durham or Yorkshire? Are we thankful enough or prayerful enough in the Homeland? Do you remember our heroes standing day by day for us still in hellish onslaughts on the fair plains of France and Belgium?²⁰

Another important task of his ministry during the war period was to distribute tracts to the soldiers. Though he distributed such tracts as 'The Sin against the Soldier and the Saviour' and the card of verse to the tune of 'Tipperary',²¹ he was impressed when he visited France in 1915 by someone from the Pocket Testament League who was distributing gospels to the soldiers. He must have thought that the ministry of distributing gospels would be an effective way to convert soldiers, so he used to visit barracks and gave out copies there. He brought Pocket League Testaments and heavy bags of small booklets to give away. Boddy sometimes invited members of the military police to sign the Military Membership Card of the Pocket Testament League and

²⁰ Alexander A. Boddy, 'Back from France,' *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.8 (August 1915), 145, 146, 147.

²¹ Alexander A. Boddy, 'The Sin against the Soldier and the Saviour,' *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.8 (August 1915), 148. 'The Sin against the Soldier and the Saviour' argued that Christ was the only way to Heaven, refuting the teaching that soldiers could go to heaven so long as they died in battle. Boddy's 'Tipperary' was another version of A. S. Booth-Clibborn's (a pacifist), containing the following refrain:

It's a long, brave way that leads to Glory,
We'll keep True as we go;
Let us trust then in Calvary's story-
That 'He washes white as snow.'
Now our Lord shall have Possession,
'Goodbye' to sin and fear;
Through our Coming King we'll reach the Glory,
For His Heart's right here.

See *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.1 (January 1915), 5

distributed illustrated Testaments to the soldiers in the Garrison Hospital, at the Aerodrome and at the Parade Service in his church in Sunderland.²² Boddy wrote that he distributed about 2,000 copies of the gospels to the soldiers in France and England. Although he mentioned that he had to halve the number of issues of *Confidence* from 1917 onwards, because of a shortage of money,²³ he appealed to the readers of *Confidence* to subscribe to the Pocket Testament League. As a result, several - most of them seemed to be his parishioners, but some were from Canada and the USA - donated money to the League and the League went on supplying him with testaments.²⁴ Therefore, the ministry now connected with the League became his important ministry for the duration of the war. In addition to the above-mentioned ministries, he often held United Prayer Meetings. For example, he offered his church for the United Intercession Service on 21 April 1918, in which he had a leading role, and arranged with William Walker, a Justice of Peace, at the Y.M.C.A. to help the soldiers at the front.²⁵

Boddy was in fact one of the main figures in spreading the famous story of the Angel at Mons, Belgium. It was reported in 1914 that the fictional short story of the Angels at Mons first appeared under the title of 'The Bowmen' in the *Evening News* on 29 September and was published in book form in July 1915.²⁶ Although the writer, Arthur Machen, confessed that the story was composed after he read the tragic account of the retreat from Mons, and believed that the Bowmen of his story became the Angels of Mons²⁷ the story stimulated readers' interest as a real event. As a result, several editors wrote to ask whether it had any foundation in fact, with requests for permission to

²² *Confidence* Vol.XI, No.2 (April-June 1918), 34.

²³ The January-February issue of *Confidence* shows that the adverse deficit was over GBP 30. See *Confidence*, Vol.X, No.1 (Jan-Feb 1917), 2, 6.

²⁴ Alexander A. Boddy, 'The Pocket Testament League,' *Confidence* Vol.X, No.4 (July-August 1917), 58-59.

²⁵ *Confidence* Vol.XI, No.2 (April-June 1918), 35.

²⁶ Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SCM Press, 1996), 194.

²⁷ Arthur Machen, *The Bowmen and Other Legends of the War* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., 1915), 7-8, 18.

reproduce his story, and ministers such as Dr R. F. Horton preached the story to congregations as a historical event.²⁸ However, the leading newspapers, including the *Guardian*, were sceptical about the authenticity of the evidence presented.²⁹ Interestingly enough, the Bishop of Durham of the time, Moule, and the one who was to succeed him had different attitudes to the story. Moule praised the Angel of Mons as God's intervention to encourage the British troops in answer to national prayer, saying 'let them also remember there had been acts of God independent of the co-operation of man, manifest in the readiness and position of the British Fleet at the outbreak of war, and also during the retreat from Mons, while who could deny that during the last three months there had been a definite answer to National prayer? Since August 4, when at last the Nation knelt down in prayer, we have not sustained a reverse.'³⁰ However, Hensley Henson, the next Bishop of Durham, made the criticism that the Angel Story made people live not in faith but on superstition; he received both an approving letter from Archbishop Davidson and considerable protests after his sermon in Westminster Abbey in July 1915.³¹ In this controversial situation, Boddy collected statements from witnesses in order to support the authenticity of the story during his three visits to the British troops in France.³² Though he recognized that a well-known version of the angel story was fabricated, using fake witnesses who had had no direct contact with the soldiers at Mons and the name of a soldier who had not been on the battlefield,³³ he argued that the story was real, offering the names and addresses of witnesses in order to give the story credibility.³⁴ He also included an extract from Harold Begbie's book, *On the Side of the Angels*, in *Confidence*, with his recommendation³⁵ and finally asserted

²⁸ Machen, *The Bowmen and Other Legends of the War*, 13-17. 21.

²⁹ The *Guardian* reported the story on 24 June 1915. Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, 194.

³⁰ Harford and Macdonald, *Handley Carr Glyn Moule*, 282.

³¹ Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, 194.

³² *Confidence* Vol.XII, No.2 (April-June, 1919), 22.

³³ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.9 (September 1915), 165.

³⁴ Boddy cited eight witnesses as proof. See *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.9 (September 1915), 168.

³⁵ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.10 (October 1915), 191-193.

that Mr. Machen's confession of making up the story of 'The Bowmen' did not affect the truth of 'The Real Angels at Mons.'³⁶

The account of his investigation impressed Queen Mary, who sent him an appreciative letter, and was popularized through the *Sunderland Echo* on 19 August 1915.³⁷ As Boddy believed that 'the angels at Mons were sent to encourage' and a token that God had not forsaken the Allies, which would be of great value through such an ordeal,³⁸ the supernatural story was eagerly accepted by soldiers and civilians, regardless of its genuineness, and helped to raise the soldiers' morale and also recruitment when *The Real Angels of Mons* was published with the permission of the official censor.³⁹ He firmly believed that the booklet was suitable for the time, so it should be given not only to the soldiers in Europe but also to people in the United States and Canada.⁴⁰ In addition, he continued to spread other supernatural stories through *Confidence*, such as the story of the Russian soldier who witnessed a figure on a white horse and the host of angels which was seen at Ypres in October 1915.⁴¹ These stories were also interpreted as God's help to the Allies and solace to both soldiers and civilians in the terrors of war.

1.2. The Introduction of Conscription and Its Objectors

The supply of fighting power entirely relied on a volunteer system and campaigns for recruitment were conducted on a large scale, appealing to patriotic sentiment, as typified in the following recruiting leaflet for the 5th Battalion containing a photograph of Gilbert O. Spence, a Colonel of the Durham Light Infantry:

³⁶ *Confidence* Vol.XII, No.2 (April-June, 1919), 23.

³⁷ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.9 (September 1915), 165.

³⁸ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.9 (September 1915), 169.

³⁹ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, 41; Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, 195.

⁴⁰ *Confidence* Vol.IX, No.2 (February 1916), 37.

⁴¹ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.9 (September 1915), 169; *Confidence* Vol.IX, No.1 (January 1916), 7.

YOUR KING WANTS YOU !
YOUR COUNTRY WANTS YOU !
YOUR CHUMS WANT YOU !
Commanding the 5th

I Want You to Reinforce The First Line !!⁴²

Britain sustained this voluntary system to maintain its armed services until January 1916, when the introduction of conscription was regarded as a lack of faith in men's patriotism. Asquith, the Liberal Prime Minister from 1908 to 1916, admitted that there was such formidable opposition to conscription that he could not ask for it until it became evident that the supply of manpower for military service was insufficient.⁴³ However, as the prolonged standstill between the British Army and the German Army on the Western Front after approximately ninety thousand casualties shattered the hope of a swift victory for the Allies, it was clear that only conscription could make good the shortage of combatants at the front.⁴⁴

Thus, the passage of the Military Service Bill compelled the young Pentecostals to join the army. However, young Pentecostals who were influenced by Arthur Booth-Clibborn (1855-1939), a convinced pacifist, were put in a quandary when conscription was introduced. It was Booth-Clibborn's Quaker background which made him hold fast to pacifism. The outbreak of the Boer War and the introduction of conscription during his stay in the Netherlands led him to write a book against war entitled *Blood against Blood*.⁴⁵ When the Salvation Army entered a period of reorganisation with a centralisation of command and rationalisation of duties in the middle of 1890, Booth-Clibborn thought that the Army had lost its initial enthusiasm for evangelism and led him to sever his connection with it because of differences in attitude to pacifism, divine

⁴² The Light Infantry, *Recruiting leaflet for the 5th Battalion* (July 30 1915). Durham County Record Office (hereafter, DCRO), Ref No. D/DLI 2/5/16.

⁴³ Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, 32.

⁴⁴ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, 11-12.

⁴⁵ Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin*, 53-54.

healing and premillennialism.⁴⁶ His involvement in John Alexander Dowie's Zion City – Dowie also having pacifist views and having led an anti-war protest – confirmed his pacifist stand before he started preaching at the Sunderland Conference in 1912.

Although Booth-Clibborn professed that 'the writer belongs to no particular Denomination of Christians,'⁴⁷ his influence on the Pentecostal movement in Britain was not small, most of all through his book *Blood against Blood*.⁴⁸ Asserting that 'war is anti-Christian in all its forms' and that the 'Pentecostal baptism of fire is the exact opposite of the fiery baptisms of war'⁴⁹ he criticised the national justification for going to war:

Not only must the individuality be sunk in the huge machine, and each Christian become but a *member* in the marching, manœuvring mass, but that number must be taught that lying is loyalty, if it appear to be useful to the national cause, and that it is true devotion to "God and country" to do evil that good may come.⁵⁰

Though Boddy was conscious of the views of Arthur Booth-Clibborn, he urged through *Confidence* the need to shed blood for the country. He wrote:

My honoured brother in the Lord, A. S. Booth-Clibborn, would like me to recommend his book against War, entitled "Blood against Blood." Most of us hate War, but many of us could not stand by calmly see a murderer killing children without doing all we could to prevent, to punish, and to incapacitate.⁵¹

In addition, Boddy tried to divert Pentecostals from objecting, using articles from the *Apostolic Evangel* published in Falcon, U.S.A. With an affirmative answer to the question, 'Can a Christian go to war and keep his Christian experience?,' Boddy

⁴⁶ Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin*, 53.

⁴⁷ Arthur Sydney Booth-Clibborn, *Blood against Blood* (New York: Charles C. Cook, ed. 1914), 1

⁴⁸ This was also advertised in the American Pentecostal periodicals. See Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 225.

⁴⁹ Booth-Clibborn, *Blood against Blood*, 13, 23.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 104.

⁵¹ Boddy, 'Tipperary,' 6.

strongly recommended conscientious objectors to read the articles.⁵² Therefore, judging from his attitude to the war, it is obvious that Boddy believed that pacifism could be a greater evil than killing enemies in the front line.

However, it was not Boddy who was the spiritual mentor of the young Pentecostals, but Booth-Clibborn, who taught that Christian truth should be followed at all costs if one was a true follower of Christ. Gee and the Carter brothers were among the young Pentecostals, like the Quakers, who had cherished the maxim, 'loyalty to the State is subordinate to loyalty to God.'⁵³ Donald Gee took his pacifist stance from Albert Saxby, who had been close to Booth-Clibborn after 1915 when he and his wife became members of Saxby's church, known as Derby Hall in Harringay.⁵⁴ His pacifism was confirmed by Frank Bartleman, who preached on 'Here God gave me a strong message against the war spirit' at his visit to the church.⁵⁵ When conscription was introduced in 1916, he applied for exemption from military service, giving as the reason his being a conscientious objector. Instead of approval and full exemption, he was ordered to do work of national importance, which he did on a farm in Buckinghamshire until the armistice.⁵⁶ John and Howard Carter were also seen by their community as hated 'conchies' and legal punishment followed. They started attending the Sunderland Pentecostal Conference in 1912 and received speaking in tongues in 1915. Around the time when the bill introducing conscription was passed, Howard Carter (1891-1971), one of the founding members of the British Assemblies of God in 1924 and its chairman from 1934 to 1945, was in charge of the Pentecostal assembly in Birmingham. The sudden departure in 1914 of the founder of the Crown Mission assembly at Saltley, Philip Peters, left the pastoral work of the assembly in his hands. In 1915, leaving the

⁵² *Confidence* Vol.X, No.3 (May-June 1917), 39.

⁵³ Edgar W. Orr, *Christian Pacifism* (Essex, UK: The C.W.Daniel Company Ltd., 1958),90.

⁵⁴ Richard Massey, *Another Springtime: The Life of Donald Gee, Pentecostal Leader and Teacher* (Surrey, UK: Highland Books, 1992), 23-24.

⁵⁵ Massey, *Another Springtime*, 24.

⁵⁶ Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneer*, 84.

assembly under the leadership of T. J. Jones, he inaugurated another Pentecostal church at Duddeston, but his ministry was interrupted by the war.⁵⁷ When the military bill for conscription came into force in early 1916, both Howard and John applied for exemption from military service. While John, who worked at a bank and assisted Howard in developing the Duddeston church, was granted absolute exemption on the grounds of conscientious objection, Howard's application was rejected, although he was a full-time minister. The reason for the rejection was clearly reported in an unidentified newspaper. It was said that 'the Stipendiary held that Carter did not come within the definition of a regular minister of religion and committed him to await an escort.'⁵⁸ As he was declared not a minister, he was put into Wormwood Scrubbs Prison on 16 March 1917, and was taken to Dartmoor Prison later. His experience in a small cell, which culminated in claustrophobia, was never to be forgotten.⁵⁹ As the war continued, the shortage of manpower made the government reconsider all exemptions. It was decided by the tribunal that the total exemption given to John should be cancelled and he had to work on a farm as an alternative form of service. He milked cows at the Coal Pits Farm near Blackburn for about two years and was transferred to a Farm Training Colony at the end of 1918.⁶⁰

In addition, according to Gee's report, the Pentecostals who were held in Wakefield Prison were Ernest T. Mellor, Thomas Moggs and Wilfred Richardson. The experience at the prison strengthened their spiritual relationship as pacifist Pentecostals through regular meetings, and later pacifism became an official stance of the Pentecostal denominations.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Carter, *A Full Life*, 31-32.

⁵⁸ David Bundy, 'Alfred Howard Carter: Pentecostal Warrior,' *Assemblies of God Heritage* Vol.19, No.1 (Spring 1999), 12.

⁵⁹ Bundy, 'Alfred Howard Carter,' 12.

⁶⁰ Carter, *A Full Life*, 37-38.

⁶¹ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 105.

With regard to the ministers concerned in Elim work, they were not influenced by the introduction of conscription because most ministers were Irish, except for George Jeffreys, who was Welsh. However, according to Hackett's letter, his ministry in Ireland helped him to be exempted from military service. Hackett wrote about the exemption from military service imposed upon him that 'this pastoral position at Elim Hall, Belfast, in God's gracious providence exempted our brother [George Jeffreys] from conscription, and enabled him to continue the good work without interruption.'⁶²

Conscientious objection also became a significant issue in the PMU. Fortunately, four students at the Men's Training Home at Preston applied for permission to be exempted from active service. In reply to a request from these four, Gibbs, Ring, Richards and Webster, the Council of the Pentecostal Missionary Union decided to issue a certificate signed by the president, Cecil Polhill, and the Hon. Secretary, T. H. Mundell, stating that 'such objection is believed to be genuine and sincere and to be based upon his religious belief.'⁶³ Judging from the decision above, the council of the PMU seemed to be lenient to its conscientious objectors and showed them discreet levels of support. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the PMU council encouraged the young Pentecostals to be conscientious objectors.⁶⁴

With regard to the status of foreign missionaries who had been sent to France to carry out war work, the council decided, following the China Inland Mission's decision, that 'in the event of any of our missionaries volunteering for war service he must be considered as having forthwith severed his connection with the PMU.'⁶⁵

⁶² *Confidence* Vol.XI, No.2 (April-June 1918), 20.

⁶³ 'The PMU Minutes I' (24 January 1916), 452.

⁶⁴ However, the PMU letters show that Mundell personally gave support to the opposition to war. See Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 227.

⁶⁵ 'The PMU Minutes II' (24 May 1918), 30-31.

Although Boddy participated in the PMU's decision to help the trainees to be exempted from military service and opposed the involvement of foreign missionaries in war-related ministries, these were not his personal opinions. It is difficult, without more evidence, to ascertain why the PMU made the decision against Boddy's personal advice. However, it can be assumed that since the PMU was a council comprising eight to ten members,⁶⁶ the PMU's decisions could not always reflect Boddy's personal opinion. In addition, it is clear that Boddy's influence in the PMU was declining during the war. At any rate, the evidence in *Confidence* shows that Boddy clearly stood against conscientious objection.

1.3. Consolidation of Pacifism among the Pentecostals

Beaman argues that 'the pacifism of the early Pentecostals was closely related to their world view, in particular eschatology, which informed much of their ethical behaviour. Belief in the imminent return of Jesus coloured their view of reality and fuelled their motivation for missions.' The belief that the earthly ruling of imperial countries would soon finish at the advent of Jesus and that the faithful followers of Christ should show their love to others, even to enemies, made some Pentecostals reject conscription.⁶⁷ Premillennialism was a common belief among the early Pentecostals, and Boddy also strongly supported it. L. de M. Brook's article, 'The Second Advent' was thought by Boddy to be so helpful that he included a summary of it in the October issue of *Confidence* in 1911. The writer calculated the time of Jesus's coming and predicted that it would be about 1914.⁶⁸ It seemed that Boddy believed that the year 1914 would see the end of the world, and he preached at the Sunderland Convention in June 1914 that the current natural disasters were the signs of the end of this age and coming of Christ.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ The members of the PMU in May 1918 were Polhill, Boddy, Moser, Mundell, Leech, Wigglesworth, Small and Crisp. *Confidence* Vol.XI, No.2 (April-June), 35.

⁶⁷ Jay Beaman, *Pentecostal Pacifism* (Hillsboro, Kansas: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1989), vii.

⁶⁸ 'The Second Advent. Our Blessed Hope,' *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.10 (October 1911), 228.

⁶⁹ Alexander A.Boddy, 'The Coming of the Lord,' *Confidence* Vol.VII, No.6 (June 1914), 116-117.

However, support for war can only be inconsistent with the Pentecostals' views on eschatology. Anderson claims that the Pentecostals' eschatological belief is important in understanding the early Pentecostals' attitude to war. He points out that 'eschatology was the primary reason' for their opposition. 'For the most of them, the outbreak of the Great War in August 1914 was further evidence that the end had come and the world, of which they were certainly no part, was involved in a bloody conflagration that would lead to the final battle of Armageddon preceding the return of Christ.'⁷⁰

In 1931, Gee, a member of Executive Presbytery of the AOG, wrote an article about war and the Christian attitude to it. He, on the one hand, criticised many believers for their patriotism, but, on the other, he reminded them of the loss of power for patriotic leaders of the Pentecostal movement, as follows:

The writer has observed as a solemn fact that those who took a strongly patriotic attitude in the last War, among our Pentecostal brethren, have mostly gone backwards in spiritual power and influence ever since; while those who put Christ and His Word before all have advanced by Divine grace to positions of spiritual leadership. It could hardly be otherwise.⁷¹

When the clouds of war again hovered over the Continent at the beginning of 1939, John Carter, the editor of *Redemption Tidings* at that time, set forth the same opinion as Gee's, warning that patriotism makes the universal love of Christ shrink in the Christian's heart.⁷² Therefore, pacifism became the official stance of the AOG.

It seems that Boddy's direct involvement in the war ministry became a controversial issue among American Pentecostals, in particular in the Assemblies of God in the United States, Canada and Foreign Lands (hereafter, AG). The news that Boddy planned to visit the front in France in order to assist the Chaplain of the Expeditionary

⁷⁰ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 223.

⁷¹ Donald Gee, 'War: The Bible: and The Christian,' *Redemption Tidings* Vol.7, No.2 (February 1931), 2.

⁷² John Carter, 'The Christian's Attitude to War,' *Redemption Tidings* Vol.15, No.3 (27 January 1939), 2.

Forces was reported in the June issue of *Weekly Evangel* in 1915 under the headline ‘A. A. Boddy Goes to the Front.’ It was extracted from an issue of *Confidence*, in which Boddy asked the Pentecostals to pray for his visit, with stories of Andrew D. Ursan and G. R. Polman who had witnessed the miserable scenes of the war in Persia, Germany and Switzerland.⁷³ The article which followed was a striking contrast, under the title, ‘Pentecostal Saints opposed to War.’ Recommending the readers to buy Booth-Clibborn’s Book, *Blood against Blood*, the writer argued that the Pentecostals as a whole, like the early Quakers, were ‘uncompromisingly opposed to war.’⁷⁴ Moreover, the pacifism in the USA was strengthened by Stanley H. Frodsham, who had received speaking in tongues at Boddy’s vicarage in 1908 and settled in the United States in 1910; he was the editor of the AG newspaper *Pentecostal Evangel* from 1921 to 1949. He encouraged readers to fix their eyes on heavenly citizenship, instead of being part of earthly war.⁷⁵ Finally, the Pentecostals’ official statement on military service was made with the entry of the United States into the war and the start of conscription there. The AG released an official statement on its pacifist stance, endorsed by the Executive and General Presbytery in 1917, and sent a copy of the resolution to President Wilson on 28 April 1917, as follows:

WHEREAS these and other Scriptures have always been accepted and interpreted by our churches as prohibiting Christians from shedding blood or taking human life; THEREFORE we, as a body of Christians, while purposing to fulfill all the obligations of loyal Citizenship, are nevertheless constrained to declare we cannot conscientiously participate in war and armed resistance which involves the actual destruction of human life, since this is contrary to our view of the clear teachings of the inspired Word of God, which is the sole basis of our faith.⁷⁶

⁷³ ‘A. A. Boddy goes to the Front,’ *Weekly Evangel* No.95 (10 June 1915), 1.

⁷⁴ Ibid..

⁷⁵ Stanley H Frodsham, ‘Our Heavenly Citizenship,’ *Weekly Evangel* No.107 (11 September 1915), 3.

⁷⁶ ‘The Pentecostal Movement and the Conscription Law,’ *The Weekly Evangel* No.201 (4 August 1917), 6.

The report in the press dated 14 July, authorised by the war department under the heading ‘Exemption,’ shows that the AG was in the category of eligible organisations for exemption from military service.⁷⁷ As a result of the spread of pacifism through influential leaders and official magazines, the Pentecostals understood that pacifism was not limited to their own countries but was among the general Pentecostal beliefs.⁷⁸ Therefore, it can be said that the pacifism of the young Pentecostals was in clear contrast to Boddy’s patriotic involvement.

2. Emergence of the Elim Movement

While Boddy was busily engaged in his war-related ministry together with that of his parish, some young Pentecostals became notable through their evangelistic ministries. In particular, it was during the war that George Jeffreys founded the Elim Evangelistic Band (hereafter, EEB), which led to the formation of a Pentecostal denomination. Gee emphasised the need for evangelism at home, criticising foreign missions as a one-sided policy:

Sometimes these little companies take a commendable interest in foreign missions, but evangelistic interest that is centered abroad and not equally as much as home is in danger of becoming merely sentimental, and is certainly not “Pentecostal” in the true Scriptural sense.⁷⁹

In this regard, Jeffreys’ evangelistic mission during the war period marked a turning point, which diverted the attention of some Pentecostals from foreign missions, as the leading Anglican Pentecostals emphasised, and towards evangelical work at home.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Donald Gee, *Pentecost* (Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1932), 85.

2.1. George Jeffreys and his Leap into Pentecostal Leadership

George Jeffreys was working at the Co-operative Store in Nantyllyllon as an errand boy when he became converted during the Welsh Revival at the age of fifteen under the ministry of W. Glasnant Jones, who was in charge of the Welsh Congregational Church at Maesteg.⁸⁰ Before George first connected with the Pentecostal movement through James Brooke, he and Stephen had opposed the movement and publicly criticised it ‘as from below,’ not from above.⁸¹ James Brooke, a former Baptist minister, was delegated by Hutchinson from Emmanuel Hall, Winton, in Bournemouth to take charge of the assembly at Belle View Chapel, Swansea. There has been some disagreement about the place where George received the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues.⁸² However, his letter to Hutchinson, which was published later in *Showers of Blessing*, suggests that he received the baptism at Bournemouth in the summer of 1910. He wrote:

Since I have been at Bournemouth, ‘all things are become new - old things have passed away’. Hallelujah. I have been saved, sanctified, baptised in the Holy Ghost with the Scriptural sign of the tongues, Mark xvi.17 and healed of sickness.⁸³

It is interesting that he was ordained on 13 November 1912 and was associated with the AFC; at the same time, he applied to the PMU as a missionary candidate under the superintendence of Myerscough.⁸⁴ Soon after, interrupting his career with Hutchinson, he independently started conducting revival meetings with his brother, Stephen Jeffreys, in the colliery district of Swansea Valley, which was close to the home of the revivalist Evan Roberts. The meetings were so remarkable that the report of 5 February 1913 in

⁸⁰ Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, 11.

⁸¹ *Confidence* Vol.XI, No.2 (April-June 1918), 19-20.

⁸² This controversy was carefully examined by James Robinson. While Cartwright claims that this baptism took place at the Swansea assembly before his visit to Emmanuel Hall, Hathaway argues that the location was Hutchinson’s church, suggesting that George later tried to remove his connection with Hutchinson after his exclusion from the main line of the Pentecostal movement. See Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin*, 95-96.

⁸³ Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, 26.

⁸⁴ His application was accepted by the Council of the PMU on 21 September 1912. ‘The PMU Minutes I’ (21 September 1912), 190.

the *Life of Faith*, the newspaper for the Keswick Convention, said that the Welsh, who still had nostalgia for the revival days in 1904-5, would consider ‘Stephen Jeffreys as another Evan Roberts.’⁸⁵ The two brothers continued ‘Waiting Meetings’ for those who had been converted and sought after the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues. According to *Confidence*, there were at least 60 persons who had been seeking the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit.⁸⁶ It was the Jeffreys brothers who connected the Pentecostal Movement, not with foreign mission, as Boddy and Polhill had done, but with a massive evangelistic campaign. The two brothers were praised for their revival campaigns when they met Boddy, who visited them at Llandrindod Wells to witness the meetings:

They feel that the Lord needs evangelists in Pentecostal work to-day. There are many teachers and would-be teachers, but few evangelists. The Lord is giving an answer through this Revival to the criticism that the Pentecostal people are not interested in Evangelistic work, and only seek to have good times.⁸⁷

‘The PMU Minutes’ dated 13 May 1913 shows that the revival meeting in Wales and London caused his prolonged absence from training in Preston, so the council of the PMU decided to send Polhill to see Jeffreys in order to persuade him to return to the training centre.⁸⁸ However, it was in the fairly short revival meetings between November 1912 and May 1913 that Jeffreys made the leap from a missionary trainee to a pivotal figure of the Pentecostal movement. Robinson observes that ‘within a period of six months, he was to meet the leaders of the international movement as well as fellow students at the PMU School at Preston, who would come to be numbered among the next generation of leaders.’⁸⁹ Ironically, disagreeing with the founders of the PMU who wanted young Pentecostals to go to foreign countries rather than forming a

⁸⁵ *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.2 (February 1913), 28.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁸⁷ Alexander A. Boddy, ‘The Welsh Revivalists Visited,’ *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.3 (March 1913), 48.

⁸⁸ ‘The PMU Minutes I’ (13 May 1913), 250.

⁸⁹ Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin*, 118.

Pentecostal denomination, all his revival campaigns, from his first revival meeting in Northern Ireland, were initially focused on the British Isles, though he had been invited to speak in India, Canada, America and South Africa.⁹⁰

2.2. Jeffreys' Evangelistic Missions

As a result of the successful mission in Wales, George was invited to small assemblies in poverty-stricken areas of Leeds. His meetings had remarkable success, thanks to the healing which was a striking feature of his ministry.⁹¹ In addition, George Jeffreys wrote to Boddy in May 1915 to report revival meetings at Plymouth which went on for six weeks. The revival campaign resulted in a great many conversions and the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues.⁹² The spontaneity of the preaching was also a characteristic in the meetings, like those of the Welsh Revival. Once, while George Jeffreys was preaching, Boulton, who wrote *George Jeffreys: A Ministry of the Miraculous*, started speaking in tongues. Jeffreys broke off his sermon, thinking that 'it was someone who had already received the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and he should therefore keep silence until the address was over.'⁹³

In contrast to Boddy, who had been mainly involved in consoling the wounded soldiers in the parish hall and distributing tracts to them, Jeffreys conducted evangelistic missions in various places in Britain. The difference between George Jeffreys and Boddy can be seen by their actions in September 1915. Whereas Boddy was among the soldiers in the battlefield in France, George Jeffreys was conducting a one-month Camp Meeting at Hereford from 5 September 1915.⁹⁴ Successively, with John Leech and Stephen Jeffreys he conducted a series of evangelistic meetings in London in October

⁹⁰ Rom Landau, *God is My Adventure* (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson Ltd., 1935), 168-169.

⁹¹ Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, 37.

⁹² *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.5 (May 1915), 89.

⁹³ Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, 19.

⁹⁴ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.8 (August 1915), 156.

1915. About 140 persons, including fifty soldiers, were deeply moved during the rally.⁹⁵ With his evangelistic campaigns, his influence in the Pentecostal movement was increased through the work of the EEB, which was formed to support his work.

2.3. Organising the EEB

The success of his mission and the need for more evangelists to conduct meetings led George at this point, to form the EEB. While Boddy was mainly involved in his pastoral ministries, Jeffreys led a massive Pentecostal campaign all around the UK, but mainly in Belfast. In particular, when the wartime conditions diminished the unity of the British Pentecostal movement, new leaders were demanded to maintain it at the same pitch. In this respect, the successive evangelistic campaigns in Belfast under the banner of 'Elim Mission,' which cherished Pentecostal beliefs such as the baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues and the second coming of Christ, gave Jeffreys for the first time leadership in the movement.⁹⁶

The place where was Jeffreys built a nest for the Elim movement was the heart of the Ulster Revival during the Awakening of 1859, which provided the Christians in the North of Ireland with fertile soil for evangelistic works.⁹⁷ Jeffreys had no personal links with Ireland but one made through William Gillespie, who had met Jeffreys at the Sunderland Convention in May 1913 and had sent him thirty shillings for his boat fare. Jeffreys led a few meetings in Monaghan, but it is not clear whether they were successful. While Hudson, on the basis of Jeffreys' letter in Boulton's book, suggests that his first mission was successful, Cartwright contends that it was 'aborted.' However, Robinson's judgment must be the correct one. He argues, in support of

⁹⁵ 'The United Evangelistic Rally in London,' *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.11 (November 1915.), 214.

⁹⁶ 'Convention at Belfast,' *Confidence* Vol.IX, No.5 (May 1916), 81.

⁹⁷ The revival in Ulster influenced at least one hundred thousand persons during the revival. Holiness Movement Publishing House, *A History of the Great Revival in Ireland* (Ottawa: Holiness Movement Publishing House, 1904), 65-66.

Cartwright, that Hudson seems unaware that Jeffreys' report in Boulton's book referred not to the first mission itself but 'a mission subsequent to the one aborted in 1913.'⁹⁸ Although the first meeting was not successful, Jeffreys was at least impressed by the Irish desire for Pentecostal meetings. After a series of revival meetings in Plymouth and Coulsdon, Jeffreys was invited by the small group of Pentecostals in Belfast and Bangor to speak at the Christmas Convention in 1914, which finally led to the formation of the EEB.

Two possible reasons for using the name Elim to designate the work in Ireland are given by Cartwright. First, it was at the Elim Mission, Lytham, that George Jeffreys preached several times during his missionary periods at the Preston Bible School. Cartwright assumes that Jeffreys used the familiar name for his work. Second, because the Welsh relished biblical names for local churches, such as Ebenezer and Bethel, Jeffreys named his work from a reference in Exodus 15:27 which says that the Israelites were refreshed at the Elim oasis.⁹⁹ Whatever the reason, the picture of a oasis with palm trees and the bible verse 'And they came to Elim where were twelve wells of water and threescore and ten palm trees' was used as the symbol of his evangelistic mission from the first issue of *The Elim Evangel*.

The first meeting of the EEB took place at Knox's Temperance Hotel on 7 January 1915. The EEB Minutes show that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss 'the best means of reaching Ireland with the Full Gospel on Pentecostal lines.'¹⁰⁰ This reference clearly shows that all the participants cherished the Pentecostal experience and believed that using the Pentecostal characteristics could be an important way to evangelise people in Ireland. They resolved that:

⁹⁸ See Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, 22; Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin*, 120-121; Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, 39; Hudson, 'A Schism and Its Aftermath,' 160.

⁹⁹ Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, 45-46.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

George Jeffreys, of South Wales, who was present with us, be invited to take up a permanent evangelistic work in Ireland and that a centre be chosen by him for the purpose of establishing a church out of which evangelists would be sent into towns and villages, and that a tent be hired, for the purpose of holding of Gospel Mission during the month of July to commence the work in Ireland.¹⁰¹

This determination implies their future ministry. First, Jeffreys would be their leader and also make the choice of headquarters for their ministry. Second, they had a plan to found their own church. Third, massive evangelism was to be conducted in a hired tent for some time.

The entry of the second meeting reports that Robert Ernest Darragh and Margaret Montgomery Streight had joined the EEB.¹⁰² In the next few years the number of the Band sharply increased and became the central force for the formation of the Elim Pentecostal Church. In particular, the number markedly increased after the war. At the end of 1920, its membership had risen to 23 (see Appendix I, Expansion of the EEB). In *Confidence* Hackett explains their remarkable Pentecostal experience and praises their zeal for evangelism:

An Elim Evangelistic Band was formed of some six or seven devoted young Christian workers to extend the work from Elim Hall, as centre, to the great industrial towns of Ulster. All of these have been baptised with this remarkable Baptism of the Spirit; all have come out very fully on faith lines, surrendering thereby, in several instances, comfortable and remunerative positions. All are most earnest for souls, and place soul-winning in the very forefront of their ministry, and wherever they go the Lord is pleased to set a marked seal on their labours.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Elim Evangelistic Band Minutes* (7 January 1915). Quoted from Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, 43.

¹⁰² The applications of Darragh and Streight as candidates for the PMU were read on 20 November 1913 and 28 July 1914 respectively and the Council of the PMU accepted their application on condition of probation for one month. 'The PMU Minutes I' (20 November 1913), 283; (28 July 1914), 349. However, Margaret Streight was later rejected as 'too fanatical.' Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, 44.

¹⁰³ *Confidence* Vol.XI, No.2 (April-June 1918), 20.

That the members of the Band believed that the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues was essential for the Christians is evident from the beginning of their work. According to Jeffreys' reminiscences, the first members of the EEB had been convinced that 'the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with signs following was for each of them and for all Christians who would believe,' though they had not spoken in tongues.¹⁰⁴ Another report in *The Elim Evangel* explains the significance of speaking in tongues in the Band. A former member of the Salvation Army, who became a member of the EEB, professed that the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit at Jeffreys' meetings lit his zeal for evangelism so that he became 'an aggressive Evangelistic' worker in Portadown.¹⁰⁵ It is evident that the Band became the central force in the setting up of the Elim churches. George Jeffreys reported in December 1920 that there were fifteen permanent assemblies.

2.4. Absorbing of Prominent Anglican Pentecostals

The involvement of the two Irish Anglicans, Thomas Edmund Hackett (1850-1939) and John Leech (1857-1942), in the Elim movement became a driving force to expand their influence among British Pentecostals. Not only did they give the EEB credibility during its formative period, but also as president and one of the treasurers respectively, they supported the EPA, as shown in the first issue of *The Elim Evangel*.¹⁰⁶

Thomas Edmund Hackett, the son of the Anglican minister, Rev. John W. Hackett (1804-88) and Jane Hackett, had a good family background.¹⁰⁷ Graduating from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1870, he was ordained as a minister in the Church of Ireland in

¹⁰⁴ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.2 No.1 (December 1920), 6.

¹⁰⁵ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.1 No.1 (December 1919), 9.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, the front page.

¹⁰⁷ His mother was the daughter of Henry Monck Mason, LLD, Librarian of King's Inn, Dublin. Among Hackett's five siblings, one brother was knighted and became a member of the Legislative Council of Western Australia; the other was Dean of Waterford; the eldest daughter was the second wife of Dr. W. Packenham Walsh Bishop of Ossory; the youngest daughter became the wife of Dr. John Baptist Crozier (1853-1920), Primate of All Ireland from 1911 to 1920; and Crozier's son was appointed the Bishop of Tuam in 1938. Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin*, 108.

1875, and became incumbent of St. James Church, Bray, Dublin after the retirement of his father, who had been its vicar from 1840 to 1888.¹⁰⁸ Surprisingly, it was not Boddy but Mrs Catherine Price, the first English Pentecostal, through whom he contacted the Pentecostal movement. He already knew the vigorous spread of the movement in the United States and Canada in 1906, but he became convinced that ‘it was a true working of God’s Spirit’ through his personal contact with her at the Heathfield Convention in August 1907.¹⁰⁹ According to his recollection in 1916, he was deeply impressed by Price’s testimony at the Convention regarding her baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues.¹¹⁰ Moreover, the experience at Boddy’s church on the way home in September 1907 was so remarkable that he became a patron of the Pentecostal movement thereafter.¹¹¹ It is not clear when he first met Boddy, but his name first appeared in the April 1910 issue of *Confidence* in a note from E. Dennis to Boddy that Hackett had preached about the gifts of the Spirit at Wimbledon where Mrs Boddy also preached, a week later.¹¹² He was afterwards invited to the International Pentecostal Convention in June 1912 as an Irish representative preacher, along with John Leech. Boddy was deeply impressed by Hackett’s powerful message when he preached at All Saints’ Church in September 1912, saying:

Our beloved brother is deeply taught in the Word. His scholarly knowledge of the original is lit up by the blessed Spirit, and made useful to God’s people. We were thankful for his ministries in Sunderland in the open air, in the Bible Class, and in the pulpit of both our Churches in All Saints’ Parish.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas E. Hackett, ‘The Hearing Advent of Our Lord,’ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.2, No.3 (June 1921), 43.

¹¹⁰ *Confidence* Vol.IX, No.10 (October 1916),

¹¹¹ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.2, No.3 (June 1921), 43.

¹¹² *Confidence* Vol.III, No.4 (April 1910), 88.

¹¹³ *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.10 (October 1911), 235.

The support of John Leech (1857-1942), a renowned Anglican barrister in high legal circles in Ireland, was significant in providing a foothold for the work of Elim in Ireland until his withdrawal from it in 1934, caused by British-Israelism. After graduating from Trinity College, Dublin, he had a long career in the legal profession as a member of the Bar of Ireland, a King's Counsel, Bencher of the Honourable Society of King's Inns and Senior Crown Prosecutor for County Longford.¹¹⁴ When Ireland divided into two in 1921, as a devoted Anglican, he moved to Belfast, where he was appointed a member of the judiciary and later Deputy Recorder of Belfast and Judge of the County Court of Antrim. Not only his high political profile but also his religious standing as 'a recognized spokesman for the evangelical cause within the Church of Ireland' gave added respectability to Elim.¹¹⁵

It seems that John Leech's first became involved in preaching at Pentecostal meetings at the Heathfield Pentecostal convention from July 30 to August 7, 1910.¹¹⁶ Two years later, in May 1912, he visited Sunderland to attend the International Sunderland Convention, where Hackett was also present as a representative speaker from Ireland.¹¹⁷ The Sunderland Convention in the following year gave him a chance to meet George Jeffreys. Following the success of the revival meetings in Wales, the Jeffreys brothers were invited to the Sunderland International Convention in 1913, to join the main speakers. The advertisement in the *Sunderland Daily Echo* shows that George and Stephen, described as 'Revivalists,'¹¹⁸ were scheduled to attend the convention. It must have been at this convention that the brothers first met Leech, but Hackett was not present. In addition to attending the Convention, Leech preached on Whit-Sunday at All Saints' Church at the request of Boddy. Normally, no layman could preach in an

¹¹⁴ Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin*, 113.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 113-116.

¹¹⁶ *Confidence* Vol.III, No.9 (September 1910), 218.

¹¹⁷ *Confidence* Vol.V, No.6 (June 1912), 125.

¹¹⁸ *Sunderland Daily Echo* (7 May 1913), 2.

Anglican church on Sunday without permission of the Bishop of Durham, but his social status as Barrister at Law, K.C. made this possible.¹¹⁹ With the tie of Anglican friendship, Boddy and Leech led a Ten Days' Mission at All Saints' Church from 20 to 29 September 1913. The mission in which Leech took an important part was so successful that Boddy reported:

Not only was the regular congregation greatly helped, but many came from surrounding villages and towns, one journeying over 300 miles to get the blessing which he testified joyfully to receiving. Our brother was used as a weapon indeed in the hand of the Lord. Many confessed Christ and are rejoicing in Him. There was much earnest prayer during the Mission.¹²⁰

John Leech with William Moser and Smith Wigglesworth, was appointed as a member of the PMU Council in June 1915 on the resignations of J. S. Breeze, Thomas Myerscough and W. H. Sandwith.¹²¹

Leech left Dublin on 22 April 1916, just before the Easter Rising broke out in Dublin,¹²² and arrived in Belfast just in time for the first of the open-air meetings. Leech was so impressed by the meetings held by Jeffreys that he believed that there was 'a good, real, pure work for God going on in this Elim Mission, in charge of which the Lord has manifestly put Brother George Jeffreys.'¹²³ Later, when Jeffreys formed the Evangelistic Council he agreed to become an advisory member of it to support the new EEB.

¹¹⁹ *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.5 (May 1913), 94.

¹²⁰ *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.10 (October 1913), 204.

¹²¹ *Confidence* Vol.III, No.6 (June 1915), 116.

¹²² The Easter Rising took a heavy toll of lives. The number of deaths was as many as 500 (426 in Dublin including 250 civilians) and over 2500 were injured. Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin*, 168.

¹²³ *Confidence* Vol.IX, No.5 (May 1916), 5.

The involvement of these prominent figures in the Elim movement gave Jeffreys the impetus to install the young band in the Christian society of Northern Ireland.¹²⁴ Robinson evaluates the significance and the limitations of the four Anglicans in the Pentecostal Movement:

The close friendship of Boddy, Polhill, Hackett and Leech was cemented primarily by their Pentecostal experience and shared engagements. They developed a mutuality of regard through defending a heavily criticised minority position, a task that tested both character and mental resource. Their compatibility was sustained also by a shared churchmanship and social class - a background that became increasingly under-represented as the revivalist impulse in the movement quickened with a consequent widening of its appeal to those lower down the social scale.¹²⁵

It is obvious that the affiliation of the two Anglicans with the Elim movement shielded it from the accusation that the formation of the EPA was a preliminary to forming a new denomination.

2.5. The Importance of the Elim work

Boddy was significantly involved in the war-related ministry, and consequently his main concern during the war shifted away from the Pentecostal movement and towards Anglican parish ministry, while young Pentecostals became central figures through the evangelistic campaigns. Among the young Pentecostals, the work done by George Jeffreys during this period was incomparable. It was the Elim work through which other future leaders were able to spread their influence on many assemblies in Britain. They became influential figures in the Elim church and were among the initial members of the AOG when it was founded in 1924.

¹²⁴ Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, 38.

¹²⁵ Robinson, *Pentecostal Origin*, 117.

The reasons for the success of the Elim church can be summarised as follows. First, the Elim church became a Pentecostal organisation through the forming of a Pentecostal identity. Their recruiting of Pentecostal evangelists, their massive and prolonged meetings with Pentecostal characteristics, such as speaking in tongues and divine healing, gave Jeffreys and the Elim church wide recognition not only in Belfast but throughout the British Isles in a relatively short time. Second, the formation of the EEB was a central force in recruiting new working class members into the Elim church. Nichol claims that active evangelism was one reason for the success of Pentecostalism. He says:

It was from among these lower classes, who after all constitute the bulk of any nation's population, that Pentecostalism recruited its membership. To reach them, it relied on a variety of the following methods. The Pentecostals were like the Methodists circuit riders of a century before, *sans* horses. That is, they did not wait for the people to come to them; they went out to the people, meeting them singly or collectively – it mattered not.¹²⁶

Through the evangelistic band, the name of Jeffreys could easily spread to the multitude. Third, through the inclusion of prominent Anglicans such as Hackett and Leech, Jeffreys could effectively avoid the accusation of forming a denomination, which Boddy had steadfastly opposed from the beginning of the Pentecostal movement. It was fortunate for the Pentecostal assemblies in Britain, which were mostly small, that they had Jeffreys to maintain their Pentecostal identity and unity during the period when central leadership was absent. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that the work of Jeffreys was a stepping stone in forming the Pentecostal denominations.

3. Conclusion

It was at this time that the gap between Boddy and the young leaders from Nonconformist backgrounds gained importance, with the issue of conscientious

¹²⁶ John Thomas Nichol, *Pentecostalism* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966), 57.

objection. While Boddy, like most Anglican ministers, actively supported the British participation in the war, some Pentecostals held strong pacifist views. It was unfortunate for Boddy that some of the conscientious objectors, such as Gee and the Carter brothers, became key figures in the AOG, as shown in the next chapter. Moreover, Jeffreys and his Elim work were sharply contrasted with Boddy's ministry during the war. While Jeffreys devoted himself to evangelistic work without becoming involved in war-work, Boddy's main concern was to minister to soldiers and parishioners as an Anglican priest. As a result, Boddy was more identified with his Anglican ministry and his Pentecostal position was taken over by younger men. Later Moser, the Treasurer of the PMU, criticising Boddy's ambiguity on Pentecostalism, even went on to claim that if the 'paid clergyman makes a compromise between the truth of Pentecost and his church he will sooner or later relinquish the truth.'¹²⁷

To conclude, the war period confirmed the disestablishment of the movement from Anglican dominance, and as a result ushered in a new phase.

¹²⁷ E. W. Moser to T. H. Mundell (18 November 1921), DGC, E. W. Moser 9 File.

CHAPTER SIX

STEPS TOWARDS FORMING THE ASSEMBLIES OF GOD IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

As observed in the previous chapter, Boddy's activities contrasted sharply with those of Jeffreys during the war. In particular, when the unity in the British Pentecostal movement began to fragment at this time, due to the loss of Boddy's leadership, new leaders were required to maintain the fervour of the Pentecostal movement. In this respect, the successive evangelistic campaigns in Ireland characterised by such Pentecostal practices as speaking in tongues and healings under the banner of the 'Elim Mission' gave George Jeffreys new strength as leader.¹

With the great changes in British society after WW1, the shift of allegiance in the British Pentecostal movement became apparent. In particular, the forming of a Pentecostal organisation came to be an important issue in the power vacuum after the gradual estrangement between the Anglican leaders and the emerging Pentecostals. If it can be said that the war made Boddy devote himself to parish ministry, diluting his involvement in the Pentecostal movement, his identity as an Anglican priest was confirmed after the war in reaction to losing his leadership in the Pentecostal movement. In contrast, it was in this period that the new Pentecostals at the forefront could take the lead by setting up a new Pentecostal organisation. In order to approach this shift in leadership, this chapter examines the process of the forming the British Assemblies of God.

¹ *Confidence* Vol.IX, No.5 (May 1916), 81.

1. Decline of Boddy's Pentecostal Leadership

1.1. Devotion to Anglican Parish Ministry

In Boddy's decline as leader, he first sought opportunities to address congregations not in Britain but in America. He looked for a possibility of ministering in the Pentecostal churches in the USA, wanting to share his wartime experiences. Through a representative of the British Ministry of Information, he asked the leaders of some American churches if they would invite him as 'a duly authorised and representative preacher' from Britain. According to the report, Boddy planned to judge the possibility of his future ministry in the USA by these invitations.²

He was invited to speak at the Atlanta Pentecostal Convention (Georgia), the Gospel Assembly at Los Angeles in the USA, the Gospel Mission of Pastor Benhan in Winnipeg and the Christian Workers' Church in London, Ontario. He also asked the Pentecostals in America to invite him to speak at these places while he was visiting them.³ However, Boddy's application for a passport was delayed by the authorities owing to 'the present shipping accommodation,' so he had to postpone his proposed visit until the difficulty was solved.⁴ Apart from the passport problem, the result of his enquiry into future ministry in the USA must have been unsatisfactory; as he wrote in *Confidence*, 'the way seemed closed for work in the USA and Canada.' Instead of visiting the USA, he accepted a proposal to take charge of St. James Church in Taunton, Somerset, for five weeks in the autumn of 1919. He visited some historical places nearby and every Sunday preached about the life of Christ, but not about the Pentecostal message.⁵ Second, when he failed to regain his leadership among the British

² *The Christian Evangel*, Nos. 256-257 (October 5 1918), 4.

³ *Confidence*, Vol.XII, No.2 (April-June 1919), 24-25

⁴ *Confidence*, Vol. XII, No.3 (July- September 1919), 49.

⁵ A. A. Boddy, 'The Editor (Rev. A. A. Boddy) in Somersetshire,' *Confidence* Vol.XII, No.4 (October-December 1919), 55-56.

Pentecostals, his ministry was restricted to the Sunderland parish and the Pittington parish.

In fact, he mainly supported the Anglican churches by his attendance rather than Pentecostal meetings. For example, from August 8 to September 5, 1920, Boddy took charge of All Saints' Church at Hoole, Chester for a short time. According to Boddy himself, this was the leading evangelical church in the area. The vicar, E. A. Parvin, had encouraged the congregations to support missionary work.⁶ During September 1922, Boddy was temporarily in charge of Holy Trinity Church at Kilburn, North-West London, while the vicar was on holiday. He preached on the subject of 'The Eternal Christ' at the morning and evening services on the four Sundays and finished his ministry at the church with a sermon on 'the Love Gift sent by the Lord Jesus' in company with his own testimony, which was included in his 'Roker Tract No.1, Born from Above.'⁷ For the five Sundays of August 1924, he preached at St. Anne's Church, Soho. Although he saw some Pentecostal visitors whom he knew, such as Polman of Amsterdam and Mogridge of Southport, his preaching was not about the Pentecostal message but on the work of Christ in Palestine.⁸ While he still had contact with some Pentecostals such as Smith Wigglesworth, it is evident that his work after the war was mainly to do with his Anglican ministry, not with the Pentecostal movement except for his participation in the meetings in London convened by Polhill. Finally, the PMU and *Confidence* magazine were his last connections with Pentecostalism after he moved to the parish of Pittington in December 1922.

⁶ *Confidence* Vol.XIII, No.4 (October-December 1920), 61

⁷ A. A. Boddy, 'An Autumn Month in North-West London,' *Confidence*, No.131 (October-December 1922), 50.

⁸ *Confidence*, No.138 (August-September 1924), 138.

1.2. The Discord and Boddy's Withdrawal from the PMU⁹

Although the PMU had maintained his leadership in the British Pentecostal movement, there had been discord between the Anglican leaders and leaders from non-Anglican backgrounds. Boddy and Polhill were the only Anglicans to have been included in the Council of the PMU from its beginning. When a vacancy occurred in the membership, Anglican leaders tried to fill it with an Anglican, but this attempt faced opposition from non-Anglican leaders. The first discord which showed the increasing tension between Anglican and Nonconformist leaders arose when Polhill sought to put H. E. Wallis, an Anglican minister who had graduated from Cambridge, in charge of the Men's Training Home in Preston, following Thomas Myerscough.¹⁰ It was uncertain what kind of position he would hold. This attempt faced opposition from some members of the PMU¹¹ because Wallis wanted to stay in London to maintain his Anglican membership instead of being devoted to the Pentecostal work in Preston, and finally produced another training home to superintend at South Hackney with Polhill's private support. Although no further official opposition came from other members, this incident was one of the reasons for Myerscough's withdrawal from the PMU in 1915.

However, it was 'the Bride Teaching' or 'the Bracknell Teaching' which caused deeper dissent than the case of Wallis. Breeze and Sandwith held a conference at Bracknell from 10 to 14 October 1915, emphasising the eschatological hope of the return of Christ.¹² The divine union with Christ as a pure bride was its main subject. Shortly

⁹ To examine the leaders of the PMU, see Appendix II.

¹⁰ This case was examined by Peter Hocken in detail. Peter Hocken, 'Cecil H. Polhill - Pentecostal Layman,' *Pneuma* Vol.10, No.2 (Fall 1988), 116-140.

¹¹ Hocken assumes that Murdoch and Myerscough would have opposed this appointment. This assumption is confirmed by Breeze's letter to Mundell dated 17 November 1913. In it Breeze wrote 'I'm very very sorry to hear about these withdrawals and am afraid that the feeling which has more than once been expressed with regard to the Training Home in London had been allowed to grow to such an extent as to be possibly partly the cause of these resignations though I understood that in Brother Murdoch's case there are other matters also.' James H. Breeze to T. H. Mundell (17 November 1913), DGC.

¹² The invitation for the conference was signed by James S. Breeze, W. H. Sandwith, Roland Sandwith and Max Wood Moorhead. James S. Breeze, W. H. Sandwith, Rowland Sandwith and Max Wood Moorhead to T. H. Mundell (2 September 1914), DGC.

afterwards, the teaching was condemned by Polhill and Boddy as a ‘flesh’ teaching, because they thought that the teaching implied their physical union with Christ, yet both Max Wood Moorhead¹³ and Breeze had sent several letters to Mundell to justify the soundness of the teaching.¹⁴ In particular, insisting that the teaching at Bracknell was not of ‘a carnal nature,’ Breeze argued that, because the character of the PMU had been interdenominational, the council of the PMU should not exclude any doctrinal positions except the common belief of Pentecostals regarding speaking in tongues as evidence of the baptism of the Spirit. He continued to warn that ‘if the Council allows itself to become a body or board to which reference concerning theological doctrines may be made that [*sic*] its character as a purely missionary union is destroyed...’¹⁵ In another letter, he again warned that judgment on the doctrinal positions of the members of the PMU should be excluded from the work of the PMU in order to prevent division, giving the example of two major disagreements between Anglicans and other Pentecostals, namely the method of water baptism and the attitude to the war.¹⁶ Boddy must have considered this teaching so serious that he inserted a notice, warning:

The “Church” is the Bride of Christ, not the individual. Dangerous secret teaching is abroad, encouraging individual physical marital sensations. There is no Scripture for the “Reception of Christ as the Bridegroom” (by laying on of hands) as a necessary preparation for translation. Let our readers beware of any teaching which is secret, and reject with horror anything which exalts strange sexual emotions on this line.¹⁷

¹³ Max Wood Moorhead (1862-1937) was sent to India as a Presbyterian missionary and became Pentecostal through the ministry of A. G. Carr, the first missionary from the Azusa Street revival, in Calcutta in the beginning of 1907. After ministering in India for 13 years he came to England. During the WW1 he was imprisoned as a German spy because of his objection to the war. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 82-83; D. J. Rodgers, ‘Moorhead, Max Wood.’ In *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement*. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Mass (eds.) (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 907.

¹⁴ Moorhead argues that the teaching had been widely supported by prominent Christian leaders such as Madame Guyon, the Bishop of Durham, Penn-Lewis, Samuel Rutherford, Hudson Taylor and Charles Spurgeon etc. Max Wood Moorhead to Mundell (29 October 1914), DGC.

¹⁵ James S. Breeze to Cecil Polhill (7 November 1914), DG.C.

¹⁶ James S. Breeze to T. H. Mundell (11 November 1914), DGC.

¹⁷ *Confidence* Vol.VII, No.12 (December 1914), 237.

Although this controversy subsided without any further action from the council, the discord became an important reason for the withdrawal of Sandwith and Breeze.¹⁸

If it was a series of the above incidents which made Sandwith and Breeze consider their resigning from the PMU, the following disputes led directly to their resignation from the PMU Council.¹⁹ One happened in the mission field, the other was related to the decision regarding the Men's Training Home. The Council of the PMU had entrusted Percy Corry and A. Clelland to W. S. Norwood, the director of the CAPM (Central Asian Pioneer Mission) in Abbottabad, Afghanistan in order to train them for future mission work in Afghanistan.²⁰ However, they left Abbottabad and moved to the Moravian Mission at Leh on September 1914 because of their disharmony with Norwood and their wish to work in Tibet. They sent a letter to the Council, in which they wrote about their disagreement with Norwood.²¹ Corry and Clelland were supported by Breeze, Sandwith and in particular Myerscough, who had been Corry's pastor at the Preston Assembly.²² However, the Council believed that their behaviour was wrong and warned that their certificates as PMU missionaries would be revoked if they did not return to Norwood as soon as possible.²³ The two missionaries did not, in fact, follow the Council's decision and they finally resigned from the PMU.²⁴

¹⁸ Sandwith resigned on 23 January 1915 from the treasurership on the ground of his illness but continued his office as a member of the council until 20 May 1915. Although it was true that he had slight paralytic stroke, this controversy may have affected his illness and must be main reason for his withdrawal from the treasurer. The office of treasurer was taken by W. Glassby, Polhill's business secretary. T. H. Mundell to Norwood (8 January 1915), DGC; 'The PMU Minutes I' (28 January 1915), 1:386-387.

¹⁹ James S. Breeze, W. N. Sandwith and Thomas Myerscough to T. H. Mundell (20 May 1915), DGC.

²⁰ T. H. Mundell to A. Clelland and P. N. Corry (19 June 1914), DGC.

²¹ T. H. Mundell to A. Clelland (25 September 1914); T. H. Mundell to P. N. Corry (25 September 1914, 8 November 1914); T. H. Mundell to W. S. Norwood (27 November 1914, 11 December 1914), DGC.

²² Thomas Myerscough to T. H. Mundell (21 November 1912), DGC.

²³ T. H. Mundell to A. Clelland (12 July 1915), DGC.

²⁴ 'The PMU Minutes I' (13 September 1915), 1:440; *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.9 (September 1915), 178.

With growing distrust of the Anglican leadership, the Council's decision in favour of the Church of England was also criticised by both students and members of the Council of the PMU. For example, Harold Webster, a student who was a steadfast Nonconformist and became later a member of the AOG as the representative of the Elterwater Assembly in 1924, protested that it was against his conscience to follow the Council's instruction that all the students should attend an Anglican church in the charge of Dr. Rumfitt every Sunday, as part of the training course. However, the Council confirmed its previous decision and commanded him to attend the church. Myerscough, Sandwith and Breeze, all of whom had experienced disagreement with the Anglican leaders before, believed that this decision was 'against their conscience' and showed 'a growing denominational bias, which cannot but have [had] far reaching effects.'²⁵ They finally resigned as members of the council in 1915. Gee believed that these members 'felt themselves compelled to resign.'²⁶

It is obvious that the Anglican leadership in the PMU was reinforced by the appointments of three new members. In 1915 Polhill appointed Glassby, his business secretary, John Leach, an Anglican layman, and Smith Wigglesworth, with whom he had kept a close relationship from the beginning of the Pentecostal movement. However, Boddy's resignation and the appointment of Dr. Middleton at the beginning of the 1920s demonstrate the deep schism in the PMU. Boddy sent the Council of the PMU a letter of resignation in February 1921 in which he wrote that the main reason for his resignation was the deterioration of his health. Nevertheless, the doctrinal difference between him and the other Pentecostals significantly influenced his decision to resign. He wrote that 'beyond a health reason he had a doctrinal reason which he would like to bring before the Council at a future date.'²⁷ Peter Hocken seems to connect the

²⁵ James Breeze, W. H. Sandwith and Thomas Myerscough to T. H. Mundell (20 May 1915), DGC.

²⁶ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 75.

²⁷ 'The PMU Minutes II' (8 February 1921), 2: 291.

doctrinal reason with the Pentecostals' attempt to form a Pentecostal denomination.²⁸ However, according to Moser's letters, it was related to speaking in tongues as evidence of the baptism of the Spirit. As the next chapter suggests, Boddy was the leading figure in reducing the significance of speaking in tongues. However, the leaders of the AOG took the contrasting line that speaking in tongues was the central value of Pentecostalism, so in their view Boddy could no longer be considered a Pentecostal. Moser criticised Boddy for duplicity:

He [Boddy] stated in his letter that his reason for resigning was that he differs with our doctrines respecting the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, but in the Papers which he filled in he stated that he agreed with our principles. The fact is he has had a scare and the enemy has put fear upon him which creates confusion and panic in the mind. His only remedy is to stand on the Word of God respecting the Baptism and the signs which follow. "It is written" must be his answer to all carnal reasonings.²⁹

He continued to insist that the Anglican elements should be removed from the PMU with Boddy's severance from it. He intensified the force of his language against the Anglican influence:

Pentecostal people, knowing how the P.M.U. was started are lenient towards Mr Boddy and would be content if the Church of England element were allowed to die out with him. But to deliberately renew this element on the Council would stir up endless trouble and we should lose the goodwill and support of many people in Pentecost.³⁰

Boddy's case was later used as a warning against any attempt to appoint an Anglican as a member of the PMU. In 1921, Polhill decided to appoint Dr. Middleton through a personal interview. Although Middleton was finally elected as an additional member of the Council and the vice-Chairman of the PMU, as Polhill had wished, Moser, on the

²⁸ Hocken, 'Cecil H. Polhill-Pentecostal Layman,' 136.

²⁹ E. W. Moser to T. H. Mundell (17 November 1920), DGC, E. W. Moser 9 File.

³⁰ E. W. Moser to T. H. Mundell (5 November 1921), DGC, E. W. Moser 9 File.

one hand, criticised the unofficial procedure in this appointment,³¹ and, on the other, warned that this appointment would harm the future work of the PMU. He contended:

I should abstain from voting on this question. I agree that Dr M. [Middleton] is a very useful man in all our business matters, but I do think his being prominent in the Church and also coming into more prominence on our Council will conduce to estrange more Pentecostal people from the work and support of the P.M.U. the result being that our work will become more difficult to carry on.³²

Gee points out that a major reason for the financial difficulties of the PMU after the war was the loss of its Pentecostal character, and David Allen takes the same view. He argues that ‘the perception – rightly or wrongly – that the P.M.U. was not as “Pentecostal” as it might be would have been sure to diminish financial support.’³³ This claim implies that there had been a credibility gap between the Anglican leaders and the Pentecostal leaders of the local assemblies, and that the influence of Boddy and Polhill rapidly diminished as a result.

1.3. Cessation of the *Confidence* Magazine

Confidence was another way through which Boddy’s leadership was exerted. However, it was difficult for Boddy to continue to publish the magazine because of lack of funds. As a result, the possibility of its cessation and appeals for support were often included in the magazine. After the war, *Confidence*, despite being the first Pentecostal magazine in Britain, lost its prestige as a major organ of the Pentecostal movement, because it featured fewer and shorter reports on the Pentecostal assemblies and articles dealing with the Pentecostal messages and doctrines than in the past. This reduced the Pentecostal distinctiveness of *Confidence*, and as a result limited its functioning as a link between the Pentecostal assemblies. *Confidence* was still a notice-board for the

³¹ E. W. Moser to T. H. Mundell (7 June 1922), DGC, E. W. Moser 9 File.

³² E. W. Moser to T. H. Mundell (3 June 1922), DGC, E. W. Moser 9 File.

³³ Allen, ‘Sign and Wonders,’ 104.

PMU up to 1920, but this role was also significantly damaged in 1921 by Boddy's willingness to resign from the PMU. In a letter to Mundell, Moser proposed that Boddy's resignation be accepted and that *Confidence* ceased to be used as the organ of the PMU.³⁴

In addition, *The Elim Evangel* in 1919 and the *Redemption Tiding* in 1924 as the respective official organs of the Elim Church and the AOG rapidly took the place of *Confidence*.³⁵ Whereas the Pentecostal denominations could make enough funds to publish their magazines by donations from the local assemblies which formed a denominational unity, Boddy greatly depended upon individual donations, mainly from Polhill. As Appendix III shows, first, it was largely Polhill's support that enabled Boddy to publish *Confidence* until 1926, though the issues became less and less frequent. Second, the total amount of donations to support it rapidly reduced from the beginning of the 1920s. It was at this time that the EPA, having its own organ, extended its influence in Britain and some Pentecostals were pursuing lively discussions on forming a new Pentecostal organisation.

2. Emergence of New Leadership

Niebuhr stresses the role of the middle class in forming this new denomination, using Max Weber's statement that 'Christianity, during all the periods of its internal and external development, in ancient times as well as in the Medieval Age and in Puritanism, was and remained a specifically urban, above all, bourgeois religion.' He claims, by using the theory of class in various denominations, that the character of the middle class is clearly dominant in modern Protestant churches.³⁶ Niebuhr's argument seems to apply to the formation of the British Pentecostal denominations. Their

³⁴ E. W. Moser to T. M. Mundell (20 April 1921), DGC, E. W. Moser 9 File.

³⁵ The decline of *Confidence* in circulation and frequency was evident after the war.

³⁶ Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, 78-79.

institution was steadfastly resisted by Boddy, who was middle-class, with the support of the upper-class Polhill, and the demand for a Pentecostal denomination was almost entirely ignored. However, the increasing number of middle-class Pentecostals in the leadership through accumulation of capital resulted in a shift from a unified opposition to denominationalism in favour of creating a Pentecostal denomination.

2.1. Ascension of Social Status of Working Class Pentecostals

Wilson argues that ‘Pentecostalism is predominantly the religion of working-class and poor people.’³⁷ However, the working class did not have a leading role in the formative periods of the British Pentecostal movement. As noted above, British Pentecostalism was from its beginning more or less dominated by a minority of middle-class members such as Boddy and Polhill, and the working class had little role in leadership, although the number of the Pentecostals with a working-class background was considerable. Boddy enjoyed a prerogative as an Anglican vicar and often expressed his dislike of Anglican robes and Anglican titles assumed by prominent charismatic leaders who were not Anglicans.

Although Boddy was impressed by the work of Dr. Yoakum of the Pisgah movement in Los Angeles, he was not happy when he heard that Yoakum had been appointed as a Shepherd or Bishop by the head officer of the Emmanuelist Episcopal Church, who also held the office of ‘Archbishop’ in his new denomination. For Boddy, the titles could be used only in the Church of England, which had the proper succession of apostleship. Though Yoakum sent a letter of explanation to Boddy, in which he wrote that he had not sought it, Boddy expressed his distaste for the use of such titles. He wrote in a special note that ‘he does not criticise its rescue work, but feels that in these Pentecostal

³⁷ Bryan R. Wilson, *Sects and society: A Sociological Study of Three Religious Groups in Britain* (London: Heinemann, 1961), 105.

days grandiloquent and august titles should not be assumed unless there is some very good reason for so doing.’³⁸ This criticism reappeared when Boddy visited the Pisgah home in Los Angeles in September 1912. Boddy reported that Yoakum spoke in tongues, although he did not identify himself with the Pentecostal Movement. Admitting that his article in *Confidence* would be critical, Boddy continued to criticise Yoakum's exercise of the office of Bishop:

Dr. Yoakum, since that very strange incident when he allowed a so-called “Archbishop” (!!!) to make him “Bishop” Yoakum, has been admitting converts to the Church of the First-Born, and ordaining some of his workers as Elders.³⁹

Moreover, in a car journey to the Pisgah Garden he spoke out to Yoakum:

“Doctor Yoakum, you’ll forgive me if I say I think you made a mistake in allowing the people of that self-constituted, so-called Episcopal Church to make you a “Bishop” or “Overseer” before as you are now. God has made you “Overseer” of this work, and not any so-called Archbishop. Many had their confidence in you shaken through this.”⁴⁰

Although Boddy hoped that Yoakum would continue to be used by God, he believed that the use of the title of Archbishop was not proper and thought that this problem had been caused because Yoakum had not spent enough time in studying the Bible.⁴¹

Another example can be seen in the letter to Dowie of Zion City. As far back as 1903 Boddy had sent a letter to Dowie to ask why he wore the robes of an Anglican Bishop. It seems that Boddy had thought that Dowie did not have the right to wear grand robes because he had not received ordination as an Anglican bishop.⁴² His criticism reached a

³⁸ *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.11 (November 1911), 255.

³⁹ Alexander A. Boddy, ‘Dr. Yoakum's Work at Los Angeles,’ *Confidence* Vol.V, No.11 (November 1912), 250.

⁴⁰ *Confidence* Vol.V, No.11 (November 1912), 255.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁴² Alexander A. Boddy, ‘Transatlantic Experience,’ *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.2 (February 1913), 38.

peak when he saw an unordained preacher conducting Holy Communion. In July 1909, he reported the incident at the meetings in New York, which he called 'a strange assembly.' He judged them as an assembly 'binding of the power of evil in the name of the Lord' by the following reasons. First, white women and black women, strange to Boddy himself, had been living in the home of a black leader whose wife had died. Boddy must have thought this a sign of moral decadence. Second, although he was not ordained, the leader conducted Holy Communion not by wine but by water which according to himself was directed by a direct voice from Jesus. Moreover, the most shocking fact was that he was wearing clergyman's robes, for example a white surplice, cassock and stole with crosses. Judging from the report, it is obvious that he thought the succession of apostleship through ordination by a church was more important than receiving an office believed to be through the voice of God. He lamented 'I came away feeling very sad, for these seem earnest people who are guided by one who thinks he hears the voice of God telling him to wear robes associated with an office he does not hold, etc.'⁴³

Although Boddy did not avowedly express a vested right as a vicar of the state church, the above cases show a sense of Anglican privilege in his subconscious. However, Gee points out the limits to Anglican leadership when the Pentecostal leaders from the Nonconformist backgrounds emerged. He maintains:

The student of the Pentecostal movement in British Isles must remember that it began with the Anglican Church, and that the most outstanding leaders were staunch members of that body, and remained so to the end of their lives. It was inevitable that this should produce difficulties of fellowship, even though for a time the new rush of Pentecostal power and love swamped everything. Among those who came in to the Movement were multitudes from the Free Churches.⁴⁴

⁴³ Alexander A. Boddy, 'Across the Atlantic,' *Confidence* Vol.II, No.7 (July 1909), 145.

⁴⁴ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 74-75.

As Pentecostalism grew, two transitions in its leadership became apparent. First, a conflict ensued between Anglican leaders and Nonconformists over the appointment of new Anglican leaders of the PMU, as observed above. Second, after WW1, there appeared some new leaders from the working-class, who later sought to bring about denominational unity. The increase of membership through evangelistic missions and the accumulation of economic capital enabled some Pentecostals to become full time ministers, and as a result they could wield a certain leadership. Although the Pentecostal churches were mostly located in suburban and poorer areas, where it was easier to recruit members from the working class, new leaders could accumulate capital which allowed them to set up their own church. The evangelistic work of Jeffreys during the war has already been outlined in Chapter Five. Smith Wigglesworth also became prominent among the Pentecostals and could have been a leader in the formation of the Pentecostal denominations if he had not been involved with two women, which finally led him to focus his ministry abroad.⁴⁵ According to Wigglesworth's letter to Mundell, Polhill, Boddy, Mundell and Leech were all involved in this matter, Polhill being the most adamant against Wigglesworth.⁴⁶ Wigglesworth kept friendly relationship with Mundell, Moser and Myerscough even after this scandal, but the fellowship with Polhill rapidly cooled off. He finally resigned from the PMU on 21 October 1920.⁴⁷ Although he diverted his ministry to foreign countries after his resignation, he continued to send considerable sums of money to the PMU for its missionary work.⁴⁸ He wrote that the

45 Desmond Cartwright dealt with this scandal in detail. The charges against him were not proved in detail. However, the letters between him and Mundell show that Wigglesworth realised that he had acted 'folishley [*sic*],' although he denied committing 'fornication or adultery.' Desmond Cartwright, *The Real Smith Wigglesworth* (Michigan: Chosen Books, 2000), 85-92.

46. Wigglesworth also criticised Polhill for ruling the PMU. He wrote to Mundell that '...He [Polhill] Rules PMU & Every one Else. I think He will have tr[o]uble Later.' A private note to Mundell (n.d.). DGC, Smith Wigglesworth's Letter File.

47 Smith Wigglesworth to the Council of the PMU (21 October 1920), DGC, Smith Wigglesworth's Letter File.

48 Wigglesworth donated £ 1,400 in late 1920 and promised that he would send the same amount in 1921. He also donated £ 350 for the Congo Evangelistic Mission of W. F. P. Burton and £ 200 to Richardson, a missionary of the PMU in 1921. His letter to Mundell shows that he continued to send donations to the PMU. Smith Wigglesworth to T. H. Mundell (17 January 1921); (29 June 1921); (26 September 1921); (21 June 1922); (21 September 1922); (30 October 1922); (2 May 1923), DGC, Smith

British Pentecostals need 'the new council taking in Pentecostal churches' for this purpose.⁴⁹ It is possible that the considerable donations made by Wigglesworth shook the dominant leadership of Polhill during the periods of financial difficulty for the PMU.

Apart from them, the early leaders of the AOG could earn influence through acquiring their own buildings and the increased membership of their assemblies. Howard Carter, for example, purchased a hall known as the 'People's Hall' by collecting offerings in Lee, South London.⁵⁰ According to his brother John, who assisted him at the Lee Assembly, the number of members at the assembly continued to grow during the 1920s.⁵¹ There is no doubt that this assembly became the main source of funds for the maintenance of the Hampstead Bible School which Howard Carter took over from the PMU, when its income became too low to support its Men's Training Home. J. N. Parr, the initiator of the AOG, held 'a lucrative position' at a large factory from 1917 and became a part-time minister at the Manchester Pentecostal Church.⁵²

3. Demand for a Pentecostal Denomination

It is noteworthy that the formative leaders of British Pentecostalism adhered to anti-denominationalism. The opposition to denominationalism took deep root in the mind of the young Pentecostals. John Carter wrote that he and Howard were 'fanatically opposed to any form of what might be called denominationalism.'⁵³ Similarly, Parr also negatively viewed the forming of an organisation because he believed that it was man's attempt at control.⁵⁴ However, the change of circumstance after the war brought some

Wigglesworth's Letter File.

⁴⁹ Smith Wigglesworth to T. H. Mundell (12 September 1923), DGC, Smith Wigglesworth's Letter File.

⁵⁰ A business man donated over £2000 to him. Kay, *Inside Story*, 56.

⁵¹ Carter, *Howard Carter*, 53-54.

⁵² Parr, *Incredible*, 28. According to his sermon he was earning £1000 a year at the time. See Henry Letson, 'Keeper of the Flame: The Story of John Nelson Parr in the Context of Pentecostal Origin' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wales, Bangor, 2005), 94.

⁵³ Carter, *Howard Carter*, 72.

⁵⁴ Massey, 'A Sound and Scriptural Union,' 75.

Pentecostals to think of forming a Pentecostal organisation which would unite the small assemblies.

First, the small Pentecostal assemblies needed to find a place for unity after the war. The Sunderland Conferences had had an important role in uniting the scattered assemblies in Britain at the beginnings of British Pentecostalism. These allowed the pastors and leaders of small assemblies to keep their sense of Pentecostal solidarity as they shared the Pentecostal experiences together. However, the cessation of the conference due to the war weakened Pentecostal unity, although Polhill took over the conferences and held one every year in London. After the war there were several Pentecostal conferences, but their power to unite all the Pentecostal assemblies could not equal that of the Sunderland conference. Wigglesworth continued to hold the Easter Convention at Bradford even during war-time in April 1915.⁵⁵ However, from the beginning of the 1920s, he could not hold the Easter convention because of his frequent trips abroad. Then his reputation was damaged by the scandal described above, which forced him to abandon his domestic ministries, resign from the PMU and close the Bradford convention, diverting the focus of his ministry to other countries, as already noted.

Apart from the Bradford convention, it was the London convention organised by Polhill which tried to unite the Pentecostal assemblies in Britain, but this was not enough to gratify some Pentecostals because some of them believed that the movement's distinctiveness had faded away in the Pentecostal Conventions of the early 1920s. Polhill still convened the Whitsuntide Conventions at Kingsway Hall until 1924, but 'the Conventions were fast becoming less and less "Pentecostal" in character.'⁵⁶ Gee went on to explain in this regard that 'the exercise of spiritual gifts was never

⁵⁵ *Confidence* No.137 (April-June 1924), 132.

⁵⁶ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 112.

deliberately quenched, but it certainly was not encouraged, more through fear of inability to deal with [the] resultant situation than anything else.’⁵⁷ He finally connected this problem with the abundant supply of preachers from denominations compared with the small number of Pentecostal speakers. Gee explains:

The ministry of the Word also came less and less through recognised leaders within the Pentecostal movement. There seemed to be, on the part of the convener, a great desire to create a certain impression by filling the platform with denominational ministers. ... Some of the meetings became almost dreary.⁵⁸

In this situation, the British Pentecostals felt the need of a new convention to share their Pentecostal experience.⁵⁹

In addition to the lack of unity, the doctrinal disputes accelerated the move to forming the AOG to cope effectively with the doctrinal disagreements. As singular leadership had disappeared when Boddy reverted to the Church of England and stopped being considered a real Pentecostal, the shift from one-man leadership towards institutional leadership was only to be expected in the power vacuum which ensued. Missen points out the limitation of the Anglican leadership after the war, saying that ‘the resolute determination of Mr. Boddy and Mr. Polhill to remain in the Anglican communion left the newly-established Pentecostal groups without any overall direction at a time when these meetings were beset with difficulties and problems.’ He indicates a few difficulties during the vacuum of leadership. First, the Pentecostals faced erroneous teachings from within, such as the doctrine of universalism and the abuse of the prophetic gift.⁶⁰ These refer to Saxby’s teaching and the teaching of the Apostolic Church, respectively. Although Saxby helped to nurse some Pentecostals who became

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 112-113.

⁵⁹ *Confidence*, No.137 (April-June 1924), 132

⁶⁰ Alfred F. Missen, *The Sound of A Going* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1973), 10.

leading figures in the AOG, such as Howard Carter and Gee,⁶¹ his ultimate reconciliation doctrine was considered by the majority of Pentecostals to be heretical. Second, an organisational system to help the conscientious objectors was demanded. Parr, the initiator of the AOG, pointed out that to help the young Pentecostals who had been brutally treated for their conscientious objection during the war was one of the main reasons for the organising of the AOG. He explained that, 'deprived of the leadership and the help of a very large number of young men, the Pentecostal work seriously declined. The brutal treatment received by some of the Pentecostal preachers when they entered prison was one of the major reasons why, at a later date, I took the steps to organise the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland.'⁶² In this situation, the forming of a Pentecostal denomination was more and more demanded. Gee argues that the formation of a new organisation was necessary as 'to fail to organise when the need was right there, would have been equally wrong, perhaps worse.' He indicated that the difficulties which they faced could be easily tackled through the new spiritual organisation and might become an 'unspeakable blessing' as the church experienced in Acts. However he still warned that the organisation should touch not fellowship but ministry and should be spiritual, not mechanical.⁶³

4. Process of the Formation of the AOG

The purpose of this part is not to look at the detailed process of the forming the AOG *per se*⁶⁴ but to examine the reasons for its successful formation in defiance of the prevalent anti-denominationalism. This will help us to judge the character of the AOG, shedding light on its place in the history of British Pentecostalism.

⁶¹ Saxby's prophetic message led Howard Carter to move to Lee, Southeast London in 1921. Gee also moved to Edinburgh through Saxby's encouragement and called Saxby 'my faithful pastor and friend.' See Carter, *Howard Carter*, 50-52; Carter, *Donald Gee*, 22.

⁶² Parr, *Incredible*, 26.

⁶³ Donald Gee, 'When the Number of the Disciples was multiplied,' *Redemption Tidings* Vol.2, No.2 (February 1926), 5-6.

⁶⁴ The best work to examine the whole process of forming the AOG would be Massey's thesis. Massey, 'Sound and Scriptural Union.'

4.1. Unsuccessful Attempts

The first formal attempt to form a Pentecostal organisation for unity was the Sheffield Conference in May 1922, although there had been several conferences to seek unity after the war.⁶⁵ Because the EPA, which mainly had assemblies in Northern Ireland, founded the first Elim church in England in 1921 and expanded its work throughout the whole of England and Wales, the Elim leaders participated in this conference in the pursuit of wider influence.⁶⁶ The leaders who signed the circular letter were W. Burton (Preston), E. C. Boulton (Hull), A. Carter (London), J. Douglas (London), G. Jeffreys (Belfast), T. H. Jewitt (Leeds), G. Kingston (Leigh-on Sea), T. Myerscough (Preston), E. W. Moser (Southsea), J. Tetchner (Horden) and J & L. Walshaw (Halifax).⁶⁷

The motive of the leaders in holding this conference was to discuss their ‘common interests’⁶⁸ but they must have had a different intention in participating. While it must have been the desire of the Elim leaders, namely, Jeffreys and Kingston, to form one Pentecostal organisation based on their already formed church, there was also a missionary reason. Burton and Moser considered that a new Pentecostal organisation could effectively support the missionaries. Moser was well aware of the problem of singular Anglican leadership in the PMU and its failure to be given financial support from the Pentecostal assemblies. Similarly, Burton needed a solid unity within the British Pentecostal movement for his Congo Evangelistic Mission. As Boddy and Polhill believed that denominationalism was not the will of God and could hinder the sound growth of the Pentecostal movement, both were excluded by this decision.

⁶⁵ Massey claims that the two Swanwick conferences, which were held in April 1920 and 1921 ‘acted as a kind of transitional link between the convention-type meetings and the formal unity conferences’ and led to the Sheffield Conference’ in 1922. Probably, one of the important contributions of the Swanwick conferences was Myerscough’s participation in the move towards forming an organisation. Massey, ‘A Sound and Scriptural Union,’ 18-19; Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 112.

⁶⁶ The first Elim church in England was founded in Leigh-on Sea, Essex in May 1921. Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 115-117.

⁶⁷ Massey added E. Blackman of Bournemouth to the list of signatories of this letter. However, this must be a mistake because his name does not appear in the original letter. Massey, ‘A Sound and Scriptural Union,’ 26; E. C. Boulton, *The First Sheffield Letter* (n.d.), DGC, E. C. Boulton file.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Moreover, some of the leaders had experienced discord with the two Anglicans. For example, William F. P. Burton had been a Bible school student at Preston under the superintendence of Myerscough and was the founder of the Congo Evangelistic Mission in 1915. He resolutely opposed the Anglican practice of infant baptism, so that even his close friends Myerscough and Parr considered his opposition to the Anglicans to be too strong.⁶⁹ Myerscough had also clashed with the Anglican leaders and withdrew from the PMU in 1915. Moser also believed that Boddy was no longer a Pentecostal. About forty assemblies attended the conference. However, this first attempt to form a union ended in failure because further support for a new Pentecostal organisation was not found.⁷⁰ The reason for the failure seems to have been as follows. The first constitution did not reflect the demands of many Pentecostal leaders, who did not want their leadership of the local assemblies to be subject to a central government. To be controlled by a central leadership, as the Elim churches were, meant the loss of local leadership, so it was difficult for them to agree to clauses VI and VII, which implied the control of local leadership (see Appendix IV, Constitution of the General Council of the AOG). Although, in the circular letter dated on 24 August 1922, Boulton tried to show the usefulness of forming a new union with its exemplary precedent in the USA and in other countries in Europe, and emphasised that the formation of an organisation was to give ‘external help to the Assemblies and in no sense to interfere with their internal government,’ this attempted finally failed.⁷¹

Another reason was doctrinal. This constitution still could not satisfy many Pentecostals who had thought that speaking in tongues should be more stressed as the indispensable sign of the baptism of the Spirit. Massey explains that the reason for this was that ‘many of the independent Pentecostal assemblies felt that its aims were not sufficiently

⁶⁹ Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers*, 158.

⁷⁰ Boulton wrote to E. J. Tilling that only ten assemblies in England and Scotland had agreed with the proposed constitution. Massey, ‘A Sound and Scriptural Union,’ 46.

⁷¹ E. C. Boulton, *Circular Letter* (24 August 1922), DGC, E. C. Boulton File.

thoroughgoing with regard to a distinctive Pentecostal testimony.’⁷² Boulton was considered to have designed this constitution and the ambiguity regarding speaking in tongues may be the product of his thoughtful consideration. As the initial evidence was disputed at the Sheffield conference,⁷³ he had to prepare a more flexible clause on this matter. In contrast with Elim’s first announced beliefs, in which ‘restoring the gifts of the Holy Spirit’ was noted and not the need for speaking in tongues,⁷⁴ this constitution laid great stress on speaking in tongues. Section V states that ‘we believe that the present latter day outpouring of the Holy Ghost, which is the promise of God to all believers, is accompanied by speaking in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.’⁷⁵ However, this was not enough to persuade some Pentecostals to agree with this position, i.e. those who were familiar with the initial evidence through their personal connection with the AG. However, the *Statement of the Fundamental Truths* approved at Sheffield was later accepted by the EPA with minor corrections as the official statement of their beliefs in 1923.⁷⁶ Although Massey does not note this point, it is also noteworthy that the Sheffield constitution also supported the five offices, namely apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers, which had been significantly emphasised by the Apostolic Church. This must have affected the leaders who had thought that the excessive practice of the prophetic ministry in the Apostolic church was an obstacle to the sound growth of the Pentecostal movement.

⁷² Massey, ‘A Sound and Scriptural Union,’ 220.

⁷³ According to Massey, George Jeffreys seems to have personally opposed the initial evidence. Some articles regarding the initial evidence in the *Elim Evangel* show that the Elim Church had no official opinion on this doctrine until the AOG was formed in 1924, as the next chapter shows. Massey, ‘A Sound and Scriptural Union,’ 31.

⁷⁴ *Elim Christ Church, What We Believe* (Belfast, n.d.), DCC, 3.

⁷⁵ *Constitution of the General Council of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland* (1922), DGC, E. C. Boulton File, Section V.

⁷⁶ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.4, No.9 (September 1923), separate page.

4.2. The Process of Formation of the AOG and the Reasons for Its Success

Hollenweger points out that ‘as long as the Pentecostal movement remained within the existing churches, there was little room for the activity of capable non-theologians in the service of the congregation.’⁷⁷ Most leaders of the AOG formed their assemblies when they were separated from the existing church after they received the baptism of the Spirit. Therefore, it is understandable for them to emphasise the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues as the indispensable condition for being a real minister, and to criticise institutional titles such as university certificates. As Massey claims, ‘certainly the new AOG leadership resisted clerical titles and academic status.’⁷⁸ There were relatively few who had received a university education, such as Boddy and Polhill.

Boddy not only gave respectability to the Pentecostal movement but was also among Pentecostals considered the father of British Pentecostalism, so a prominent figure was now needed in his place to give a good impression of the new Pentecostal organisation. Jane Boddy recollects that her father was strongly pressed to join a Pentecostal denomination. She wrote that ‘considerable pressure had been brought to bear on him to start a Pentecostal Movement, but he was firm in his allegiance to the Church of England and felt he could not conscientiously leave it.’⁷⁹ Although Jane’s recollection is no doubt true, the invitation would not have been an official one from the leaders of the AOG, but private intimations from such acquaintances as Wigglesworth and George Jeffreys, neither of whom joined the AOG. Therefore, it is unlikely that the leaders of the AOG put pressure on him such as Jane recollects, because most of the leaders had disagreed with him over the Pentecostal doctrine and his support for the war, or considered him not to have remained Pentecostal.

⁷⁷ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 208.

⁷⁸ Massey, ‘A Sound and Scriptural Union,’ 262.

⁷⁹ Jane Boddy, ‘Alexander Alfred Boddy,’ 9.

Whether Boddy or someone else, a mentoring figure was in any case needed in the power vacuum. It is obvious that the involvement of Myerscough in forming the AOG gave the Pentecostals the driving force to implement their plan to form a Pentecostal organisation.⁸⁰ Myerscough was admired by the young Pentecostals for his extensive knowledge of the Bible, his extensive friendships with other Pentecostals and the wealth of his experience in relation to the Pentecostal movement, having been a member of the PMU and the Principal of the Men's Training Home in Preston. His influence in the British Pentecostal movement continued even after his withdrawal from the PMU in 1915, after serving as a member of the Congo Evangelistic Mission founded by William Burton.

Myerscough's active help hastened the initiative of John Nelson Parr, who became the first Chairman of the AOG and the first editor of *Redemption Tidings*. Preston and Manchester were geographically close and Myerscough and Parr, with their similar business backgrounds, readily cooperated in forming a Pentecostal organisation.⁸¹ Moser's active help also needs to be taken into consideration. As is examined in the next chapter, Moser at this time felt strong aversion to Boddy because he believed that Boddy had lost his former Pentecostal character. The early participation of Moser in the move to form the AOG is understandable. Massey notes that Moser wrote letters to the Pentecostal leaders and pastors in order to 'encourage them to respond to Parr's efforts to hold a conference' and to request the eligible assemblies to join the AOG.⁸² Mundell's attitude towards forming a Pentecostal denomination was also positive, although he could not actively be involved in the process of the formation because of his position as secretary of the PMU.⁸³

⁸⁰ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 128.

⁸¹ Letson, 'Keeper of the Flame,' 117.

⁸² Massey, 'A Sound and Scriptural Union,' 84.

⁸³ Mundell was 'entire accord with' the previous constitution of the Sheffield Conference. T. H. Mundell to E. C. Boulton (3 October 1922), DCG.

The separation of the Elim leaders and Saxby from the table helped the other Pentecostals to converge in their common interests and beliefs. After the Sheffield proposal failed, the EPA independently endeavoured to recruit some Pentecostal churches to the Alliance. The case of Gee's church in Leith, Scotland would be the best example of this move. Most Pentecostal churches in Scotland were under the influence of the Apostolic Church at the time. Gee noted that 'Kilsyth and Leith are the only two Assemblies of any size left untouched.'⁸⁴ He had a sense of impending crisis because he considered some practices to be wrong, so he desired that he and the Leith Assembly should become associated with the EPA.⁸⁵ However, it was hard for the Assembly to transfer its property to the EPA in order to join the Alliance and this financial centralisation significantly hindered the Pentecostal leaders from joining.⁸⁶ Although the EPA amended its constitution to make it more acceptable to the independent churches, Gee thought that it was still difficult to accept the revised constitution,⁸⁷ and finally decided not to join the EPA.⁸⁸ A series of his letters to and from the Elim leaders reveals several factors which should be taken into consideration. First of all, it seems that the centralisation of Elim added a more negative impression to inhibit denominationalism, in addition to Boddy's criticism that it was against the will of God. When Gee received Parr's proposal, he wrote to Moser:

Twice already we have seriously and prayerfully faced the question at Leith of becoming united with some such organisation, and both times we have come to the conclusion that it was the will of the Lord for us to remain an entirely free assembly. ... I believe we should distinguish between the Pentecostal Experience and the "Movement" that has embodied it. Organisation is quite as likely to cramp the former as to encourage it, it seems to me, and any preservation of the latter must inevitably tend to denominationalism.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Donald Gee to E. J. Phillips (23 February 1923), DGC, Donald Gee Letter 7:1 File.

⁸⁵ Donald Gee to E. J. Phillips (10 April 1923), DGC, Donald Gee Letter 7:1 File.

⁸⁶ Donald Gee to Henderson (16 May 1923); (18 May 1923), DGC, Donald Gee Letter 7:1 File.

⁸⁷ Donald Gee to E. J. Phillips (18 July 1923), DGC, Donald Gee Letter 7:1 File.

⁸⁸ Donald Gee to E. J. Phillips (31 July 1923), DGC, Donald Gee Letter 7:1 File.

⁸⁹ Extract of Letter from Pastor Gee of Leith to E. W. Moser (14 December 1923), DGC, Donald Gee

Therefore, it was necessary for the initiators of the new organisation to stress the autonomy of the local churches. Massey argues that it ‘no doubt played a major part in the fears of centralization under an “Elim-type” organisation which led to such a massive rejection of the unity proposals formulated at Sheffield.’⁹⁰ Therefore, a safety device for the protection of the local leadership was demanded in order to remove the fear of centralization and legalistic power from the minds of the local leaders who had been taught by Boddy to resist denominationalism. It may be said that the use of ‘the sound and scriptural union’ instead ‘a Pentecostal denomination’ was an attempt to avoid this difficulty.

It was effective to use the Constitution of the AG, which had been considered as a successful model of a Pentecostal organisation. Gee claims that ‘a carefully-worded Statement of Fundamental Truths was drawn up.’⁹¹ However, as seen in Appendix V, the Birmingham Constitution was a copy of the American constitution with minor corrections. Emphasising the similarity between the two constitutions, Massey claims that it was ‘Parr’s plagiarism’⁹² and Parr may have followed the American model because ‘their character, aims and fears were similar in general terms to those of the British AoG.’⁹³ Similarly, Allen also believes that it was ‘both time-saving for Parr’ and an effective way to reassure those whom he had to persuade to join the new Pentecostal denomination, since the American Assemblies of God had made ‘excellent progress.’⁹⁴ As the existence of the AG must have been well known to the assemblies in Britain, it would have been easy for the leaders in Britain to get a copy of the constitution of the AG.⁹⁵ Boulton’s warning to the AG about the approach of the

Letter 7:1 File.

⁹⁰ Massey, ‘A Sound and Scriptural Union,’ 60.

⁹¹ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 129.

⁹² Massey, ‘A Sound and Scriptural Union,’ 104.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁹⁴ Allen, ‘Sign and Wonders,’ 114.

⁹⁵ Parr acquired a copy of their Minutes by his personal contact and used it when he formed a constitution for the formation of the AOG without identifying its quotation. See Massey, ‘A Sound and

Apostolic Church to ask if they could affiliate with the AG shows that the AG was a desirable Pentecostal denomination to join.⁹⁶ Moreover the Welsh assemblies, which had not affiliated with the Apostolic Church, also tried to join the AG as the Welsh District Council of the AG. According to Desmond Cartwright, the AG sent a number of copies of the American Constitution with the recommendation that it would be better to contact other groups which had been discussing the formation of a Pentecostal organisation.⁹⁷ The Welsh assemblies were considered ‘children of the Revival’ because they were the product of the great revival in 1904-5 and the revivalism of the Jeffreys brothers in 1913, in which emotionalism prevailed. Gee records that the move of the Welsh assemblies, which felt a strong sense of solidarity, influenced British Pentecostals to take action to form a Pentecostal organisation.⁹⁸ As the Welsh Pentecostals knew of the growth of the AG and its constitution, it seems that the use of the American model gave the Welsh Pentecostals the credibility of the AOG.

In addition, the doctrine of initial evidence played an important role in uniting the local assemblies. Speaking in tongues was continuously emphasised among the British Pentecostals such as Saxby and Gee, and it seem that a good many British Pentecostals accepted this doctrine through the influence of the AG. In particular, it must have been considered a reinforcement of the Pentecostal character and a common belief for those who had thought that the Pentecostal character of British Pentecostalism had been significantly diminished by the Anglican leaders.

These factors contributed to the passage of the Constitution at the Birmingham conference on 1 February 1924. It was composed of Resolutions, a Statement of Fundamental Truths and Minutes. First, in the Resolutions, on the one hand, the denial

Scriptural Union,’ footnote 234 on page 130.

⁹⁶ *The Pentecostal Evangel*, Nos. 456-457 (5 August 1922), 9.

⁹⁷ Desmond Cartwright to Kyu-Hyung Cho (1 May 2008).

⁹⁸ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 128.

of sectarianism and ‘centralised legislative power,’ which were unscriptural, were emphasised. On the other, it claimed that a scriptural union needed to be formed ‘to establish a closer co-operation and fellowship.’⁹⁹ Second, a Statement of Fundamental Truths included initial evidence and Nonconformist doctrine such as baptism by full immersion, although it followed evangelical doctrines in general. It rejected the ‘Ultimate Reconciliation’ which was claimed by Saxby. Third, in the Minutes section, dealing with business matters, the autonomy of local assemblies was secured and the role of the General Presbytery and District Presbytery were restricted to an ancillary role and only at the request of the local assemblies. Other matters on the agenda were the appointment of the Executive Presbytery, the mission policy, the appointment of Myerscough as Missionary Secretary-Treasurer and the publication of *Redemption Tidings* as the official organ of the AOG. In particular, the decision that the offerings of the local assemblies for missionaries should be sent to the Missionary Treasurer significantly impacted upon the status of the PMU.

4.3. Amalgamation of the PMU with the AOG

The PMU suffered from a shortage of funds during and after the war, which led the council of the PMU to close the Training Homes. Mundell described its difficulties as follows:

The P.M.U. like many other Missionary Societies has suffered acutely through the lack of usual support, and it was not only wise, but necessary policy to adopt to close the two Tr. Homes for the time being in order that the P.M.U. might conserve and do all they could to support and extend the Missionary work which we already have in hand. It would as you can readily see have been foolish to have kept sending out more Missionaries when there was a difficulty in supporting those already in the field, and whom we are fully supporting, and intend doing so God helping us.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ *Minutes of the Assemblies of God of Gt. Britain and Ireland* (January to May 1924), 1.

¹⁰⁰ T. H. Mundell to G. Vale (15 August 1922), DGC.

In these difficulties, it was fortunate that Howard Carter assume responsibility for continuing the Men's Training Home as a Bible school.¹⁰¹ In addition, the independent missionary work of the Apostolic Church also aggravated the financial condition of the PMU. Mundell mentioned this problem in a letter to Wigglesworth. Many Welsh assemblies used to support the PMU even after joining the Apostolic Church. However, after the Apostolic Church formed its own mission department, their money was siphoned off to support the new missionary endeavour. As a result, the offerings to the PMU diminished and the budget shrank.¹⁰²

The distrust of the Anglican leadership was one of the major reasons for the curtailment of financial support from the local assemblies. Moser points out that there had been a misunderstanding between the Anglican leaders of the PMU and the Pentecostal assemblies which were 'strongly non-conformist.'¹⁰³ Urging on Mundell the need for amalgamation with the AOG, Moser expected that this could help the assemblies to strengthen their unity. He writes:

There is no doubt but that the Assemblies will be saved from drifting and disintegration and they will be greatly strengthened and consolidated by the new association together, and in the end Missionary work will be benefitted [*sic*] thereby, but whether the P.M.U. will get as much support I cannot say yet.¹⁰⁴

The tension between the Council and the AOG increased when the AOG appointed Thomas Myerscough as Treasurer to deal with missionary matters in the AOG. The decision meant that offerings which had been directly sent to the Council by the local assemblies would in the future be stopped, and it would aggravate a financial shortage in the PMU. For that reason, the Council considered that 'this was a very important

¹⁰¹ T. H. Mundell to T. B. Price (19 August 1922), DGC.

¹⁰² T. H. Mundell to Smith Wigglesworth (19 October 1922), DGC.

¹⁰³ E. W. Moser to T. H. Mundell (12 May 1924), DGC, E. W. Moser 8 File.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

matter and might seriously affect the position of the PMU.’¹⁰⁵ As a result, it was impossible to continuously send missionaries to the mission field and there would inevitably be delay in sending additional missionaries whom the PMU had decided to send. An example of this can be seen in a letter from Mundell. He wrote to Bell, ‘I may state that if we were in funds (which I am sorry is not the case at the present time) we would do all we could to send you out possibly to China where there is a great need and [an] open door.’¹⁰⁶ Finally, Bell was not sent to China. Instead, he became in 1924 one of the founding members of the AOG as a representative of the Hampstead Assembly.¹⁰⁷ Although Boddy and Polhill opened the young Pentecostals’ eyes to foreign missions, the financial crisis of the PMU switched their attention to home missionary work.

Finally, the PMU Council decided to accept the AOG’s proposal for amalgamation with them and a new council was formed comprising ten members, five from each side.¹⁰⁸ As a result, Polhill also resigned from the PMU, all of Boddy’s and Polhill’s books were removed from the PMU, and their leadership totally disappeared from the British Pentecostal movement.¹⁰⁹

Redemption Tidings reports that the PMU entirely agreed with the statement of Fundamentals of the AOG, which included initial evidence, as a prerequisite for the

¹⁰⁵ ‘The PMU Minutes IV’ (30 May 1924), 5:6.

¹⁰⁶ T. H. Mundell to Bell (2 February 1923), DGC.

¹⁰⁷ *Minutes of the Assemblies of God* (Jan. to May 1924), last page.

¹⁰⁸ The representative members of the Council from the AOG were Thomas Myerscogh, John Carter, Howard Carter, G. T. Tiling, Henry H. Roe.

¹⁰⁹ T. H. Mundell to A. H. Carter (3 January 1925), DGC. Polhill never mentioned the PMU when with his brother, Arthur Polhill, he wrote his reflections on the missionary work in China in 1926. Arthur Polhill’s letter to the Old Etonians dated on 18 March 1926 shows that Polhill acted as Treasurer on an unnamed committee which planned to open schools in China. The members of the committee included F. N. Gurzon, A. C. Norman (Trustees), The Bishop of Exeter (Chairman), Cecil Polhill (Treasurer). ‘Papers of Cecil and Arthur Polhill’ (1926), CSCNWW10; Arthur Polhill to the Old Etonians (18 March 1926), CSCNWW10.

amalgamation.¹¹⁰ Therefore, contrary to Boddy's claim, the possibility of baptism of the Spirit without speaking in tongues was eliminated from the belief of the AOG. Parr later proposed dropping of the title of PMU and on 30 September 1927 the Council decided to eliminate its use from all documents in connection with the missionary work of the AOG.¹¹¹

4.4. The Parting of the Two Pentecostal Denominations

As the EPA was already formed, it was relatively easy for the Alliance to take root in England and Wales. To form one Pentecostal organisation was one of the main concerns of the Elim Church. However, it was difficult for some local assemblies such as Gee's church to accept the centralism of the Elim Church. Jeffreys' decision that the Elim Church was to open Elim Bible College was the last nail in the coffin of unity because it meant that the Elim did not consider Carter's college to be their Pentecostal college.¹¹² The Elim leaders decided on 27 December 1924 not to try to amalgamate with the AOG at the meeting of its members. They resolved:

We, the members of the Elim Evangelistic Band gathered at the Elim Tabernacle, Belfast, at our Annual Meeting on Saturday, December 27th, 1924, having beforehand carefully examined the Minutes and prayerfully considered the question of amalgamation with the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland, believe it to be the will of God that we work each on our lines, as heretofore, both striving, side by side with mutual sympathy, for the salvation of souls and for the truths which are so dear to us.¹¹³

With regard to the relationship between the Elim Church and Boddy, there was no official connection between the two. However, some of Jeffreys' letters show that he

¹¹⁰ *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1, No.6 (June 1925), 16.

¹¹¹ E. W. Moser to T. H. Mundell (8 September 1927), DGC, E. W. Moser 8 File; 'The PMU Minutes VII' (30 September 1927), 7:12.

¹¹² Donald Gee to E. J. Phillips (21 November 1924), DGC, Donald Gee Letter 7:1 File.

¹¹³ 'Memoir made at the Meeting of Members of Elim Evangelistic Band,' Christmas, 1924 (27 December 1924), DCC.

kept in personal contact with Boddy until 1927.¹¹⁴ Jeffreys' personal admiration and his doctrinal similarity were enough to maintain the friendship between two.

5. Conclusion

It is evident that Boddy's role in the Pentecostal movement significantly declined and his work after WW1 was mostly limited to parish ministry. There was discord and conflict in the PMU between the Anglican leaders and other Pentecostals, who criticised the PMU for losing its Pentecostal character. In this situation, Boddy's withdrawal from the PMU, owing mainly to his disagreement about the nature of baptism of the Holy Spirit, rapidly lessened his involvement with Pentecostalism. Finally, with the cessation of *Confidence* in 1926, Boddy's influence on the British Pentecostal movement disappeared.

It was necessary for the Pentecostals to form a new Pentecostal organisation to protect them from erroneous doctrine, to fill the vacuum of leadership after the loss of the initial leaders such as Boddy and Polhill and to help conscientious objectors. As a result, anti-denominationalism seemed no longer justified and, as the appeal of singular leadership dwindled, organisational leadership came to the fore. In this situation, the forming of a Pentecostal denomination was an inevitable choice. Contrary to Boddy's hope that the Pentecostal movement could revitalise the existing church, the Pentecostals formed a new denomination, taking as their precedent Wesley and the birth of the Methodist Church.

Although the British Pentecostals endeavoured to form a single organisation, their effort ended in failure. While the Elim church wanted to form a centralised organisation based

¹¹⁴ If no further evidence emerges, Boddy's last letter to Jeffreys would be that of 19 July 1927. A. A. Boddy to George Jeffreys (19 July 1927), DCC.

on the EPA, many local assemblies, reluctant to be controlled by a central government, joined the AOG, which promised more autonomy to local assemblies.

The process of forming the AOG had the following characteristics. First, the exclusion of the Anglican leaders from the move to form a Pentecostal organisation, though some Pentecostals, such as Thomas Myerscough, after his conflicts with the Anglicans, were keen to make this move; second, the use of the American model, in which the doctrine of initial evidence was crucial, together with the withdrawal of the Anglican; these diluted the initial characteristics of British Pentecostalism.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DOCTRINAL DISCREPANCIES IN BRITISH PENTECOSTALISM

Harvey Cox argues that the rapid growth of the Pentecostal movement was the result of addressing ‘the spiritual emptiness of our time by reaching beyond the levels of creed and ceremony into the core of human religiousness, into what might be called primal spirituality.’¹ He divides primal spirituality into three dimensions, which he calls primal speech, primal piety and primal hope.² Speaking in tongues must be the central element of primal spirituality, which evangelicals strongly opposed. Similarly, Grant Wacker, historian of Duke University, also relates the success of Pentecostalism to primitivism as a propulsive power of the movement.³ Although the Pentecostals’ conviction that they were empowered by the primal power of the Holy Spirit as in the Bible was the impulse of the Pentecostal movement, Pentecostals came pragmatically to an accommodation when they questioned themselves in the process of the movement, and the primitive and pragmatic impulses ultimately balanced each other.⁴ The tension between these impulses was also observed in British Pentecostalism. When the Pentecostals in Britain faced criticism from the evangelicals, they started to emphasise their links with the evangelical tradition to lessen the hostility. It must have been a pragmatic effort which led prominent Pentecostals such as Boddy to stress repeatedly that the Pentecostal movement was always in line with evangelicalism, in particular the Keswick tradition. Wacker approves of their balance between primitivism and pragmatism but fails to notice its negative effect. As there are two sides to every

¹ Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 81.

² Primal speech refers to speaking in tongues; primal piety points to Pentecostal manifestations such as trance, vision, healing etc.: primal hope means millennialism, in particular premillennialism. See Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 82-83.

³ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below, Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-14.

question, the accommodation of Pentecostalism to evangelicalism inevitably diluted its initial impulse. The excess of adaptation to the social and cultural expectations of the time began to hinder the growth of the religious movement. The problem for Pentecostals was how to adapt the movement to evangelical theology without losing their own distinctiveness. This chapter seeks to investigate Boddy's dilution of Pentecostal theology and the reinforcement of the Pentecostal values among the Pentecostal denominations.

1. The Significance of the Pentecostal Baptism of the Spirit

The Pentecostal movement was called the Tongues Movement and baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues was at its core. From the inception of the movement, the place of tongues was characterised by Boddy through the issue of *Confidence*. It was commonly believed that speaking in tongues, the evidence of Spirit baptism, was a unifying bond by which small Pentecostal assemblies could share homogeneous experiences. It is true that some Pentecostal leaders, of whom Boddy was the most important, weakened this characteristic; but the impact of this dilution was not significant in the initial and developing stages because the main leaders could control the whole movement through their own dominance. However, the lack of leadership after the war emphasised the importance of the Pentecostal doctrines in uniting the assemblies.

2. Dilution of the Pentecostal Characteristics

The new leaders of British Pentecostalism consolidated the Pentecostal characteristics as soon as they had founded the Pentecostal denominations. Apart from sociological reasons, there was a theological difference between Boddy and the denominational leaders. Speaking in tongues as evidence of the baptism of the Spirit was from the outset an unquestionable characteristic of the Pentecostal movement. Boddy also supported

this belief at the formative stage but changed his theological view after he experienced opposition from prominent evangelicals in established denominations and discord with other Pentecostals. Pentecostal theology could be unified through the International Conferences and *Confidence*, reflecting mainly Boddy's own theology, although there were disagreements on certain issues among Pentecostals. However, the new leaders after the war, who were mainly connected with the AOG, again emphasised the Pentecostal characteristics when they moved to build up the Pentecostal denominations.

2.1. Boddy's Understanding of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit

Donald Gee (1891-1966), principal of the Assemblies of God Bible College in Britain and the editor of the quarterly Pentecostal magazine, *Pentecost*, declared in 1955 that Spirit baptism was the central issue in Pentecostalism and emphasised that speaking in tongues was its primary theme:

Experience has proved that wherever there has been a weakening on this point fewer and fewer believers have in actual fact been baptised in the Holy Spirit and the Testimony has tended to lose the Fire that gave it birth and keeps it living.⁵

As Gee declares, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which is accompanied by the ecstatic experience of speaking in tongues has been the central force by which the Pentecostal movement has flourished. Therefore, the understanding on the part of the main leaders of the AOG that speaking in tongues represented the baptism of the Holy Spirit would have been an important factor in maintaining the movement's impulse. In this regard, Boddy's understanding of the Holy Spirit needs to be examined.

Boddy believed that he received the baptism of the Holy Spirit on 21 September 1892 during the eight o'clock Communion Service. According to his account, the Holy

⁵ Henry I. Lederle, *Treasures Old and New* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), 23

Spirit's baptism came to him suddenly and immediately reconciled him with his enemies.⁶ He related his Spirit baptism to love as a gift of the Spirit.⁷ Moreover, he considered the baptism of the Spirit in connection with Christology, unlike most Pentecostals, who emphasised it as a personal work of the Holy Spirit. The role of the Spirit in the baptism of the Holy Spirit, for Boddy, was guidance to achieving union with Christ. He set out this view in *Confidence*:

He has taught me (and by strange methods and unexpected messengers) not to place Him - the Holy Spirit - in the place of Christ, but to allow Him to glorify Christ in us and through us. It is Christ alone Who saves. The Holy Spirit has led me to see, and therefore now to teach, our Union with Christ in His Death, Resurrection, and Ascension, with its victory over sin and disease. It is all made real now to me by the Holy Spirit.⁸

Boddy's wife also believed that she had experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit in 1904, which was before she became involved in the Pentecostal movement in 1907. According to her testimony, she received the baptism of the Spirit in a vision, so that she could realise the source of her disease and the meaning of divine healing. She wrote regarding her baptism of the Holy Spirit:

The Lord graciously gave me this in vision in 1904, when I received the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, so that from that time I knew that attacks of Satan on my body were not to be met in the ordinary way of Divine Healing, for Christ was my life, and His Life was sufficient to withstand all disease, and overcome death, even if the body had to go into the grave for a time until the Lord came, but that now the fight was to be over the actual body.⁹

It is obvious that the Boddys thought of these experiences as the baptism of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ However, when they experienced speaking in tongues they coined a new term,

⁶ Boddy, *Pentecost at Sunderland: A Vicar's Testimony*, 4-5.

⁷ A. A. Boddy, 'Born from Above,' *Confidence* Vol.II, No.4 (April 1909), 98.

⁸ Boddy, 'Born from Above,' 98.

⁹ Mary Boddy, 'A New Year's Message,' *Confidence* Vol.VII, No.1 (January 1914), 11.

¹⁰ Mary Boddy, 'Pentecost at Sunderland' *The Testimony of A Vicar's Wife* (Sunderland, n.d.) 4.

‘Pentecost,’ to designate the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues. It is clear that Boddy distinguished between the term ‘the baptism of the Holy Spirit,’ which had been widely used by the evangelicals of his time, and the term ‘Pentecost.’ Peter Lavin assumes that Boddy confused this experience with the baptism of the Holy Spirit ‘because of his ignorance of the concept of the baptism of the Spirit, as contemporary theologians in his days could not have properly coined the experience into words.’¹¹ However, he may have judged Boddy’s understanding of the baptism of the Spirit on the assumption that the term ‘the baptism of the Holy Spirit’ could be used only if speaking in tongues followed, as most classical Pentecostals argue. Yet we cannot find any evidence that Boddy was ignorant of the meaning of Spirit baptism simply for the reason that he coined the term, ‘Pentecost’ to refer to the Pentecostal baptism. He clearly stated that ‘Pentecost means the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the evidence of the Tongues.’¹²

2.2. The Place of Tongues

Pentecostals considered that speaking in tongues was significant in the Pentecostal movement and there have been controversies over the character of tongues. First, the Pentecostals hotly debated the issue of whether tongues are *glossolalia* or *xenolalia*. The subject had already been discussed by some scholars in the middle of the nineteenth century. First, Dr J. S. Howson, dean of Chester Cathedral, and W. J. Conybeare of Trinity College, Cambridge elucidated in *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul* what the gift of tongues meant in the Pauline Epistles, in particular in the Epistles to the Corinthians. On the one hand, they explained that ‘speaking in tongues was not a knowledge of foreign languages (*xenolalia*)’ because it was never used, except on the day of Pentecost, for the conversion of foreign nations. On the other hand, however, they acknowledged that speaking in tongues came as ‘a sudden influx of supernatural

¹¹ Lavin, *Alexander Boddy*, 30.

¹² Alexander A. Boddy, ‘Tongues as a Seal of Pentecost,’ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.4 (April 1909), 1908, 18.

inspiration' and it could be repeated. Furthermore, they commented that by 'the immediate communication of the Spirit of God' the human spirit was rapt into a state of ecstasy so that 'the exercise of the understanding was suspended.'¹³ Although they denied that speaking in tongues was *xenolalia*, the possibility of *glossolalia* was not denied but acknowledged, with the result that Boddy inserted their exegesis in the May issue of *Confidence* in 1909.¹⁴

In contrast, William Arthur, a Methodist perfectionist,¹⁵ who popularized the term 'the tongue of Fire,' meaning the baptism of the Holy Spirit, denies the possibility of *glossolalia*. Instead, he argues that tongues in the apostolic days were not *glossolalia* but *xenolalia*. The expression 'unknown tongues' in Corinthians is in italics in the Authorised Version to show that is not taken from the original text. Therefore, the existence of unknown tongues cannot be justified by the Bible. Rather, he claims that people in London spoke in tongues, including German, French, Spanish, Russian, Turkish, and other foreign languages.¹⁶

Although the nature of tongues was discussed, it did not become an important issue in the Pentecostal movement because Pentecostals generally agreed with the possibility of both kinds of tongues. On the one hand, they acknowledged the appearance of known tongues, while on the other they understood unknown tongues as speaking of mysteries to God (1 Corinthians xiv. 2.) to edify the speaker himself. However, Boddy warned against any attempt to connect *xenolalia* with a missionary calling from God. He

¹³ W. J. Conybeare & J. S. Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (London: Longmans, 1886), 506.

¹⁴ *Confidence* No.2 (May 1908), 4.

¹⁵ The meaning of 'Perfectionist' in the middle of the nineteenth century was different from the claim of the Keswick leaders. According to Johnson, Perfectionists such as Thomas Upham and Charles G. Finney did not claim the eradication of sin. On the contrary, they claimed that man, by nature, sinful, requires regeneration and could be perfected by partaking of God's love, which purified his inclinations. However, the struggle between good and evil still exists within even a perfect man until his death. Claudia D. Johnson, 'Hawthorne and Nineteenth-Century Perfectionism,' *American Literature* Vol.44, No.4 (January 1973), 585-586.

¹⁶ William Arthur, *The Tongues of Fire* (London: Hamilton, 1867), 68.

strongly recommended that those who felt they had received a call to missionary work because of *xenolalic* tongues such as Chinese or an Indian language should not go abroad without properly acquiring the language.¹⁷

Another disagreement was about whether speaking in tongues is one of the gifts of the Spirit or the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. As a significant ‘cornerstone of Pentecostal theology,’ the ‘consequence’ debate was to be hotly discussed later among the Pentecostal denominations.¹⁸ Initially, when he introduced the Pentecostal movement to his ministry, Boddy had the same view of the tongues as had most classical Pentecostals in the United States. As these classical Pentecostals believed that speaking in tongues was the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, Boddy undoubtedly believed the initial evidence of such baptism, saying:

One is often asked, “Do you think anyone can have had the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and not have had the Sign of Tongues?” I cannot judge another, but for me, “Pentecost means the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the evidence of the Tongues.”¹⁹

However, the British Pentecostals had a different view from the German Pentecostals on this subject. The place of tongues was keenly disputed at the Pentecostal Conference in Germany, where about fifty delegates gathered between 8 and 11 December 1908.²⁰ According to Boddy, German Pentecostals had been laying stress on the gift of tongues rather than on tongues as the sign of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. In contrast to German Pentecostals, British Pentecostals seemed to have focused on tongues as the sign of the baptism of the Spirit rather than as the gift of the Spirit, though they also

¹⁷ Alexander A. Boddy, ‘The Pentecostal Baptism,’ *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.1 (January 1911), 8.

¹⁸ Anderson, *An Introduction To Pentecostalism*, 193-194.

¹⁹ A. A. Boddy, ‘Tongues as a Seal of Pentecost,’ *Confidence* No.1 (April, 1908), 18.

²⁰ The list of participants shows that most were German Pentecostals, but several were from Holland. Boddy and Polhill were the only English Pentecostals. See *Special Supplement To Confidence* No.9 (December 1908), 1.

acknowledged tongues as a gift.²¹ Boddy again asserted his position when the German evangelist, Reiman (or Reimann) asked about tongues as a consequence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit on the first day of the conference:

“Did all who so received their Pentecost at Sunderland and elsewhere speak in Tongues?”

[Boddy] Answer: “Yes, in this movement we have only called that a ‘Pentecost’ which was attested by the speaking in Tongues.”²²

Judging from the above conversation, Boddy believed that tongues should be manifested as the consequence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Again, the European Pentecostals widely discussed the subject and Boddy insisted that ‘Pentecost means the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the sign of “Tongues.”’ And Boddy’s summary of the Conference shows that most of the influential leaders such as Barratt (Norway), Paul (Germany), and Kok (Holland) agreed at the conference with Boddy’s view at the time.²³

However, Boddy later must have seen some basis for Paul’s views on tongues. Although he again asked Paul when the two met on 24 September 1910 whether the baptism of the Holy Spirit without speaking in tongues was possible, he put high value on Paul’s views. He wrote:

Pastor Paul holds some views which we should seriously consider, though they are a little startling to us. The steadiness and strength of the Pentecostal work in Germany seems to be almost an endorsement of his views. He puts it this way: The gift of Tongues may be received by any regenerate person. Children readily receive the gift, but I cannot in all

²¹ ‘The Conference in Germany,’ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.1 (January 1909), 6.

²² ‘The German Conference,’ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.1 (January 1909), 5.

²³ Kok said that ‘one hundred in Holland with the baptism of the Holy Spirit had come with the sign of Tongues,’ and both Paul and Barratt believed that tongues were a sign rather than the gift itself. See, ‘The Pentecostal Conference in Germany,’ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.2 (February 1909), 33-35.

such cases say they have received the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. Then there are those also who have received the Baptism, but have not spoken in Tongues. I know personally those who have undoubtedly received the Baptism. Their lives and power and love show this, and I could not say that they were not baptized with the Holy Ghost. I myself received the Baptism twenty years ago, and had all the evidence which I have to-day, though I did not speak in Tongues. But when I came in contact with the dear people in Norway I recognised that it was the very same Spirit in them that had been in me all these years. Later I spoke also in Tongues, but I had the Baptism twenty years before.²⁴

It seems that Paul's view on tongues helped the Pentecostals to be more acceptable to the evangelicals, who had similarly emphasised the baptism of the Holy Spirit as the power to serve God (as Keswick taught), as well as to prevent the spread of extreme forms of Pentecostalism, such as the practice of repetition to encourage speaking in tongues. It is clear that Paul's view was more inclusive than Boddy's had been, so it would have been helpful for avoiding the severe opposition of the evangelicals, who had criticised the tongues-centred theology of the Pentecostal movement. In particular, Boddy, at this time, was a close friend of Graham Scroggie (1877-1958). He was the successor of E. F. Marsh who was also the steadfast opponent of the Pentecostal movement,²⁵ and ministered from April 1907 to September 1916, at the Bethesda Baptist Chapel at Sunderland where Boddy introduced Pentecostalism. Scroggie wielded no little influence because he was well known among the evangelicals through his ministry at Keswick. Boddy invited Scroggie to preach at All Saints' Parish Hall,²⁶ and had friendly discussions with him at All Saints' Vicarage and at Scroggie's home after Simpson had led a conference meeting at the Bethesda Free Chapel in the spring of

²⁴ Alexander A. Boddy, 'Germany, Some Experiences by the Editor,' *Confidence* Vol.III, No.10 (October 1910), 233.

²⁵ Desmond Cartwright, 'Everywhere Spoken Against: Opposition to Pentecostalism 1907-1930,' (n.p., n.d.), 1.

²⁶ Scroggie preached at Boddy's church in 1909 under the title of 'Is the Bible Inspired?' *All Saints' Parish Magazine*, June 1907, DCRO.

1911.²⁷ Therefore, it was necessary for Boddy to be flexible over the place of tongues, and as a result tongues became a 'most desirable' factor but not compulsory.²⁸

Affected by the attitude of Paul and the evangelicals towards tongues, Boddy expressed in his magazine exactly the same view on Tongues as Paul had claimed. As soon as he came back from Germany, he received many letters enquiring about the possibility of the baptism of the Holy Spirit which did not have the speaking in tongues and felt it necessary to write an article on the subject. In the article, he acknowledged the possibility of the baptism of the Holy Spirit without speaking in tongues, as follows:

There are and have been some who perhaps have never spoken in Tongues, of whom the Writer cannot say that they have not been baptized into the one Body ... The experience of these years of Pentecostal fellowship with some of the Lord's best has caused the Writer to feel thus: He could not say of a stranger who came to him "speaking in Tongues" - "This man is baptized in the Holy Ghost because he speaks in Tongues."²⁹

For Boddy, the claim must have been easy to accept because it could help those who supported the Pentecostal theology without receiving speaking in tongues, and because it could justify the discontinuance of speaking in tongues. However, the issue was brought up for discussion once more at the Sunderland Conference in June 1911. While the Dutch Pentecostals generally believed that the tongues were the evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, German Pentecostals argued that tongues were not the complete evidence but were one of the evidences of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The difference between the two countries could put the unity of the whole Pentecostal

²⁷ *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.4 (April 1911), 88.

²⁸ A later part of the conversation with Paul shows Boddy's concession of the initial evidence from the doctrine: 'But, Pastor Paul,' I said, 'do you not think that it is most desirable that we should have today the same sign as was given on the great day of Pentecost?' 'Yes, my beloved brother, I agree with you, and no one having the Baptism of the Holy Ghost should ever say one word against true 'Tongues,' where there is also Love, and the other graces.' Boddy, 'Germany, Some Experiences by the Editor,' 233.

²⁹ Alexander A. Boddy, 'Tongues: the Pentecostal Sign: Love, the Evidence of Continuance,' *Confidence* Vol.III, No.11 (November 1910), 260-261.

movement in danger of division, so speakers appealed to the divine love among the Pentecostals rather than stressing speaking in tongues itself. In this respect, the emphasis on unity became significant. The remark of the German pastor, Paul, typically showed the Pentecostal's hope for unity:

We may have different opinions. One may say, "Everyone who is baptised will speak in tongues." Very well, all right. Another will say, "The Holy Ghost is manifesting Himself in the power of love." Well, we can all agree. In this Pentecostal movement we must stand shoulder to shoulder. There must be no division - all connected, connected, connected by the one Spirit, the one Spirit arranging and controlling.³⁰

In May 1912, the European leaders of the movement gathered at the Sunderland Conference adopted a statement regarding the baptism of the Holy Spirit. In the statement of the Consultative International Pentecostal Council, signed by Alexander Boddy (England), Cecil Polhill (England), T. B. Barratt (Norway), J. Paul (Germany), B. Schilling (Germany), E. Humburg (Germany) and Joseph Hillery King (U.S.A), the claim of the classical Pentecostals about the initial evidence was not included. The statement says:

The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire is the coming upon and within of the Holy Spirit to indwell the believer in His fullness, and is always borne witness to by the fruit of the Spirit and the outward manifestation, so that we may receive the same gift as the disciples on the Day of Pentecost. (Bold in original) ³¹

Although the above statement did not claim initial evidence, it was understood by the leading evangelicals that the Pentecostals had wrongly claimed that speaking in tongues is the precondition for the baptism of the Spirit. In particular, one influential booklet against Pentecostalism entitled *The Baptism of the Spirit* was published by Graham

³⁰ 'The Place of Tongues in the Pentecostal Movement,' *Confidence* Vol. IV, No.8 (August 1911), 182.

³¹ 'A Consultative International Pentecostal Council,' *Confidence* Vol.V, No.6 (June 1912), 133.

Scroggie at the beginning of 1910.³² Scroggie's main criticism was on the initial evidence. He claims:

This [The above-mentioned statement adopted by the Consultative International Pentecostal in May 1912] is signed by eight brethren. Will you mark well the opening words of this manifesto? If they mean anything at all, they mean that, one evidence, amongst others, that a person has received the Baptism of the Spirit is that he speaks with Tongues. I do not hesitate to say that this is thoroughly unscriptural.³³

As a determined cessationist, Scroggie believed that speaking in tongues was not a sign to all believers but 'an Apostolic prerogative,' and the miracles in the book of the Acts ceased after the Apostolic age.³⁴ He sent the article for review to several evangelical magazines and the leading evangelicals, including Campbell Morgan, Albert Head, A. B. Simpson and F. B. Meyer.³⁵ Campbell Morgan, who also had examined the Pentecostals' claim of the initial evidence, expressed his thanks to this booklet, believing that 'the exposition on the speaking in tongues too is exactly what is needed at the present time.'³⁶ W. H. Griffith Thomas, professor of theology at Wycliffe College at the time, also affirmed that the contents of the pamphlet were 'so clearly, helpfully and convincingly put,' and asked further information on Boddy's meetings.³⁷ Many prominent evangelicals such as F. B. Meyer, James Martin Gary, the second president

³² Besides, this article was serially appeared in *Bethesda Record*. *Bethesda Record* (July 1912), 113-118; (August 1912), 126-129; (September 1912), 137-141.

³³ W. Graham Scroggie, *The Baptism of the Spirit: What is it? And Speaking with Tongues: What Saith the Scriptures?* (Edinburgh: n.d.), 12.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 37-39.

³⁵ Scroggie made a note of addressees in a small card. According to his note, the newspapers were *Newness of Life*, *Life of Faith*, *The Christian*, *British Evangelist*, *Sword and Trowel*, *Our Hope*, *Tongues of Fire* and *Moring Star*. The persons who reviewed include Campbell Morgan, Albert Head, Meyer, Dr. Gray, Dr Scofield and another Dr Scofield, F. Gooch, F. White, J. Brown, A. B. Simpson, Ada Habershon, Sir R. Anderson, Dr White, Dr G. Thomas, Stuart Holden, Philip Mauro and Dr Guinness. It is interesting that the name of R. A. Torrey was crossed through although he was included. Graham Scroggie, 'Note for review of Baptism of Tongues,' DCC.

³⁶ G. Campbell Morgan to W. Graham Scroggie (6 February 1913), DCC. Morgan ordered 50 copies of the booklets. G. Campbell Morgan to W. Graham Scroggie (Telegram) (6 February 1913), DCC.

³⁷ W. H. Griffith Thomas to W. Graham Scroggie (13 December 1912), DCC.

of the Moody Bible Institute, Stuart Holden, A. C. Gaebelein of *Our Hope*, Wilbert W. White of the Bible Teachers Training School in New York and McKillian of *Morning Star* sent replies which showed that all of them highly valued the articles.³⁸

Later, the Pentecostal leaders adopted a declaration at the International Pentecostal Consultative Council in December 1912. They issued a statement which led backwards in comparison to the former one of May 1912. With a clause against denominationalism, the statement did not use the word 'Tongues' at all, and clearly denied the claim that speaking in tongues is the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The third clause says:

We do not teach that all who have been baptized in the Holy Ghost, even if they should speak in tongues, have already received the fullness of the blessing of Christ implied in this Baptism. There may be, and in most cases will be, a progressive entering in of the believer into this fullness, according to the measure of faith, obedience, and knowledge of the recipient.³⁹

As seen above, the belief that speaking in tongues is the initial evidence of the baptism of the Spirit was dominant among Pentecostals. However, in the course of development of the Pentecostal movement, influential Pentecostal leaders – Boddy being pivotal among them - gave up this belief and as a result the importance of receiving tongues diminished.

Even Boddy differently defined the meaning of his favourite term, 'Pentecost.' He initially used the term to denote speaking in tongues as the baptism of the Spirit.

³⁸ F. B. Meyer to W. Graham Scroggie (24 August 1912); James M. Gary to W. Graham Scroggie (1 February 1913); Stuart Holden to W. Graham Scroggie (15 February 1913); A. C. Gaebelein to W. Graham Scroggie (7 September 1912); W. W. White to W. Graham Scroggie (8 February 1912); McKillian to W. Graham Scroggie (2 August 1912), DCC.

³⁹ The signatures to this declaration - Alexander Boddy, Cecil Polhill, T. B. Barratt, Emil Humburg, J. Paul, C. O. Voget and Anton B. Reuss - show that Boddy had a leading role in diluting the characteristics of British Pentecostalism. 'Declaration,' *Confidence* Vol.V, No.12 (December 1912), 277.

However, he went on to use the term to stress union with Christ instead of denoting the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit, as in the following:

“Pentecost” should mean a Life of Union with the Lord Jesus, it means continual victory as we trust His precious Blood. New power to witness for Him, and to lay hold of the gifts He has for His Body. But, above all, the Holy Ghost makes real to us the Glorified Christ in a way we have never known.⁴⁰

Boddy’s withdrawal from a position of initial evidence was used by the opponents as a way of refuting the Pentecostal movement and its tenets. Alma White,⁴¹ a harsh antagonist of Pentecostalism, later quoted Mary Boddy’s short note in order to criticise Pentecostalism. Denying the initial evidence, Mary Boddy had claimed:

The “Baptism” is to be filled with God; and “Tongues” will follow; but speaking in Tongues only is not, I can see, a sufficient sign of the Baptism ... I do believe that merely speaking in Tongues is not necessarily a convincing sign that a person has got God in them ... The trouble is so few know what the Baptism really means.⁴²

White believed that Mary’s announcement was evidence from inside the Pentecostal camp to show the unsoundness of the Pentecostal doctrine and she criticised the Pentecostals argument as follows:

Therefore they [Boddy and Mary] were forced to come to the conclusion that tongues are not always a sign of baptism. The writer knows it to be a fact that anyone can get the tongues, however low his standard of morals may be. Are not these things sufficient warning to all who look with favour upon this modern spiritism?⁴³

⁴⁰ ‘A Memorable Anniversary,’ *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.12 (December 1915), 228.

⁴¹ After Alma White separated from Kent White, an Apostolic Pentecostal and a strong believer of initial evidence, she was highly critical of Pentecostalism.

⁴² *Confidence* Vol.II, No.11 (November 1910), 260.

⁴³ Alma White, *Demons and tongues* (Zarephath, N.J: Pillar of fire, 1936), 65-66.

2.3. The Word and Love are Superior to Tongues

In addition to withdrawal from the initial evidence of tongues, there were two factors which Boddy underlined. First of all, it is worth noting that Boddy often connected love with speaking in tongues. When he gave his personal testimony at the German Conference in 1909, he claimed that a great gift of love came to him with speaking in tongues.⁴⁴ On the one hand, though both Boddy and his wife did not insist that speaking in tongues is the only evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, Boddy emphasised the divine love as evidence of Spirit baptism.⁴⁵ For example, when Boddy visited the United States, he witnessed divisions within the Pentecostal camp, in particular over the subject of the so-called ‘finished work of Jesus controversy’⁴⁶ fired by William Durham of Chicago; he appealed for unity by the baptism of love rather than arguing over the way in which baptism of the Holy Spirit with tongues could be received.⁴⁷ The unity was the main theme of his preaching during his visit to the USA. This can be observed in his address at the Stone Church on 13 October 1912, where he says.

What mean ye by these tongues? Surely it means the baptism in the Holy Ghost as on the day of Pentecost. Has it meant wonderful living? Brethren loving one another? The brethren loving the lost souls? ... What mean ye by these tongues? They must mean self-restraint, the burial of self, crucifixion, a going on with the Lord until Jesus comes. They should mean for us a missionary spirit and a love of God’s Word.⁴⁸

He continued to put the value of love above tongues in his writing in order to prevent division in the Pentecostal movement. Though he did not ignore the usefulness of

⁴⁴ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.2 (February 1909), 33.

⁴⁵ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.11 (November, 1909), 260; *Confidence* Vol.III, No.5 (May 1910), 104; *Confidence* Vol.III, No.3 (November 1910), 261; *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.8 (August 1911), 176.

⁴⁶ Those who claimed the finished work denied the three steps, namely regeneration, sanctification and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. They claimed that Jesus’s work on the cross was the finished work for believers to be sanctified, so the believers do not need the process of sanctification. This was different from the belief of most European Pentecostals, including Boddy, who believed in and publicized the three steps. From April 1911, Boddy started to insert on every third page of *Confidence* the doctrines which he advocated. Among the doctrines, Boddy included the three steps.

⁴⁷ Alexander A. Boddy, ‘In Southern California,’ *Confidence* Vol. V, No.11 (November 1912), 246.

⁴⁸ Alexander A. Boddy, ‘What mean these stones?,’ *The Latter Rain Evangel* (November 1912), 15.

tongues, he put more value on love than tongues, so he claimed that ‘Divine Love is always and absolutely a necessary and the only certain evidence accompanying the true baptism. “Tongues” are a sign of His mighty entrance, but Love is the evidence of His continuance in controlling.’⁴⁹ Second, the written Word was also stressed as the safety device of the Revival to prevent the movement from straying out of the right path.

Whilst the “Tongues” bring untold blessings, there are dangers running close beside the blessing for those who do not keep close to the Word of God. I have heard in some assemblies quite lengthy speaking in Tongues when there has been no interpretation, and none seemed to be expected, for the speaker went on and on without a pause or without anyone praying for the interpretation. This seems contrary to the spirit of St. Paul’s advice. We thank God for the “Tongues.” But let us be loyal to His Word.⁵⁰

With his emphasis on love as one of the Spirit-gifts, Boddy also stressed the word of God at the London conference on 12 June 1916. He was emphatic about the word of God rather than the Pentecostal practices, which were witnessed at the meetings during his visit to the USA. He said:

Great Britain needs prayer in these days. Do you know, I think at the beginning of our Pentecostal Service we ought to choose some chapter in God’s Word, for I think a great deal is lost by not beginning our meetings with the Word of God. We have the word of men, Spirit-filled men, but we do need the Word of God in our meetings, and the time is not wasted if we read the Word of God in our meetings.⁵¹

As seen above, Boddy stressed the word of God, which as the movement grew had been a core value among the evangelicals, and unity among Pentecostals, rather than Pentecostal experience such as speaking in tongues. In contrast, the Pentecostal denominations re-stressed and cherished their Pentecostal experiences.

⁴⁹ Alexander A. Boddy, ‘Tongues: The Pentecostal Sign: Love, The Evidence Of Continuance,’ *Confidence* Vol. III, No.11 (November 1910), 260.-261.

⁵⁰ Alexander A. Boddy, ‘Tongues in the Public Assembly,’ *Confidence* (January 1915), 14.

⁵¹ *Flames of Fire* (June 1916), 1.

3. Consolidation of the Pentecostal Characteristics in the Pentecostal Denominations

Lederle interprets the significance of initial evidence in comparison to the evangelicals' understanding of Spirit baptism. According to him, the notable revivalists such as Charles Finney, Robert Pearsall Smith and A. B. Simpson claimed that the baptism of the Holy Spirit was as an endowment with power to serve Christ, but 'such an experience was essentially subjective and there was no external sign by which people could verify that it had taken place.'⁵² He goes on to explain why the initial evidence has been so important to the Pentecostals.

... there was a strong psychological desire for the external evidence created, especially by the ongoing experiences of Christians who later came to doubt their own Spirit-baptism precisely because they seemed to have lost "the power" or "the purity" (depending on whether they were Keswick or Wesleyan in their understanding.) It is in this atmosphere of searching that the Pentecostal gospel of initial (physical) evidence spread like wild-fire.⁵³

His claim suggests that the Pentecostals' belief that they received definite Spirit baptism confirmed by the speaking in tongues became a driving force of the rapid spread of Pentecostalism. However, it has been this belief which received much criticism from evangelicals, for, as Chan points out, the initial evidence 'appears to have the least support in the larger spiritual tradition.'⁵⁴

The growth of the Pentecostal movement after the war shifted from singular leadership to plural leadership and it became impossible for a few leaders to control the whole movement. As a result, the leaders of the scattered Pentecostal assemblies started to take an interest in the forming of Pentecostal denominations, in order to strengthen their

⁵² Lederle, *Treasures Old and New*, 18.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition*, 40.

unity. In addition, as the Pentecostal movement grew, the Pentecostals thought that the consolidation of Pentecostal unity among the Pentecostal assemblies through stressing Pentecostal characteristics was more important than having Pentecostalism accepted by the evangelicals. With this new emphasis, the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit became more and more significant.

Before the AOG adopted the doctrine of initial evidence as their official stance in 1924, there was controversy over the doctrine in the PMU. When the place of speaking in tongues was disputed, the Council of the PMU felt that it was necessary to announce the official stance of the PMU on the issue. The members of the Council who first discussed the issue, made a declaration, prepared by Moser,⁵⁵ in which the denial of the initial evidence was apparent. ‘The Minutes of the PMU’ say that ‘whilst all who are now being so baptised do speaking in tongues, more or less, yet this is not the only evidence of this Baptism but the recipient should also give clear proof by his life and “magnify God.”’⁵⁶ This proposal was adopted with minor corrections at the council meeting on 24 July 1916.⁵⁷ The declaration, proposed by Polhill and seconded by Boddy, was that ‘All who are baptised in the Holy Spirit may speak in tongues as the Spirit giveth utterance, but the recipients should give clear proof of [or by] their life and “magnify God”’⁵⁸ However, many Pentecostals expressed their discontent over the declaration, so Wigglesworth reported at the November meeting that ‘the recent decision of the council as published in *Confidence* was considered very unsatisfactory by several of the

⁵⁵ It is noteworthy that Moser changed his position on speaking in tongues. Although he denied the initial evidence at this time, he later supported (or at least endorsed) the doctrine of the initial evidence and became one of the initial members of the AOG in 1924.

⁵⁶ ‘The PMU Minutes I’ (23 May 1916), 1:464.

⁵⁷ The members present were Polhill, Crisp, Boddy, Glassby, Small, Wigglesworth and Mundell. ‘The PMU Minutes I’ (24 July 1916), 1:471-472.

⁵⁸ Different prepositions were used between the declaration in *Confidence* and that in ‘The PMU Minutes I.’ While ‘by’ was used in *Confidence*, ‘of’ was shown in the minutes. See ‘The PMU Minutes I’ (24 July 1916), 1:471; *Confidence* Vol.XL, No.8 (August 1916), 137.

Assemblies.’⁵⁹ The council decided that the following declaration should replace the previous one.

The members of the P.M.U. Council hold and teach that every believer should be baptized with the Holy Ghost, and that the Scriptures shew that the Apostles regarded the speaking with Tongues as evidence that the believer had been so baptised. Each seeker for the Baptism with the Holy Ghost should therefore expect God to give him a full measure of His sanctifying grace in his heart, and also to speak with Tongues and magnify God as a sign and confirmation that he is truly baptised with the Holy Ghost.⁶⁰

This decision was made when Boddy was absent, but he mentioned in *Confidence* that he accepted the altered declaration.⁶¹ Although Boddy ostensibly agreed with this settlement, the evidence put forward in the previous chapter shows that Boddy agreed to this decision only with reluctance. Because of its ambiguity, the declaration did not content either side. While some Pentecostals believed that the PMU was losing its Pentecostal character under the influence of the Anglican leaders, Boddy, who opposed initial evidence (or claimed that speaking in tongues is a chief sign of the baptism of the Spirit.) also thought that it supported the doctrine of initial evidence. Mundell later made Boddy understand that the resolution of the PMU Council ‘does not make the speaking in tongues a chief sign,’ by expressing his delight at Boddy’s withdrawal of his resignation.⁶² However, this incident was an example of a dispute over the issue of tongues among the Pentecostals and became one of the main reasons for Boddy’s severance from the movement after the formation of the AOG, which adopted initial evidence as one of its official doctrines.

⁵⁹ ‘The PMU Minutes I’ (7 November 1916), 1:493.

⁶⁰ ‘The PMU Minutes I’ (5 December 1916), 1:501.

⁶¹ *Confidence* Vol.IX, No.12 (December 1916), 197.

⁶² T. H. Mundell to A. A. Boddy (16 February 1916), DGC.

3.1. Adoption of the Doctrine of the Initial Evidence in the AOG

The Pentecostals often believed that speaking in tongues was a precondition for consolidating the Pentecostal assemblies. For example, when Andrew of Swansea reported on the Pentecostal work in South Wales, he wrote to Boddy: ‘There are bands of people baptized in the Holy Ghost, and the much despised “Sign of the Tongues” has become a bond of union there.’⁶³ In contrast, Boddy stressed love to promote Pentecostal unity, rather than speaking in tongues. In addition, the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit, the importance of which Boddy had sought to weaken, was often emphasised, in particular when the AOG formulated their official doctrine. The General Presbytery of the AOG adopted the doctrine of the initial evidence in Clause 6 of A *Statement of Fundamental Truths*. This speaks of ‘the baptism in the Holy Spirit, the initial evidence of which is the speaking with other tongues.’⁶⁴

Gee, a spokesperson of the AOG, refutes both the Wesleyan view of the baptism of the Spirit and the Calvinist view. While traditional Calvinists hold that the believers receive the baptism of the Spirit at the time of regeneration, Wesleyans believe that the Spirit baptism is a different experience from conversion to destroy sin. The Wesleyans named the experience a second blessing, by which the believers are led to higher life. However, according to Gee, the baptism of the spirit is related to empowerment, not to the destruction of sin, as the Wesleyans claim. He continued by stressing the significance of speaking in tongues because the ‘particular manifestation seems to be ordained by God as a simple universal and conclusive evidence that the Holy Ghost has come.’⁶⁵ The opponent who argued that ‘Pentecostal folk would be wonderful people if only they would give up tongues!’ is firmly rebutted by his saying that ‘the Lord gave us “tongues” when He gave us the large revelation of Himself in this fullness of the

⁶³ *Confidence* Vol.III, No.4 (April 1910), 88.

⁶⁴ *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1, No.1 (July 1924), 19.

⁶⁵ Donald Gee. ‘Studies on the Fundamental Truths (No.6),’ *Redemption Tidings* Vol.2, No.6 (June 1926), 13-15

Spirit.’⁶⁶ Moreover, he stressed that tongues speaking is the initial evidence of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. He claims that in Acts everyone who received the baptism of the Spirit spoke in tongues. Differentiating between tongues as initial evidence and the gift of tongues, he claims that tongues should be followed as initial evidence of the baptism of the Spirit, although the baptism is ‘no guarantee that recipients may not afterwards fall into gross error and sin.’⁶⁷ He argues, in his answering article to a critical letter urging him to leave the Pentecostal movement, that tongues speaking is a core truth to which all Pentecostals should firmly hold at any cost. Another gave an example of someone who finally gave up Pentecostal beliefs and argued that there was more chance for Pentecostals to work with evangelicals if they gave up Pentecostalism; in reply to this critic, Gee even claimed the usefulness of speaking in tongues in public places, unlike Boddy and other influential Pentecostal leaders. He argued:

But, I cannot forget that “the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal,” and in this connection (1 Cor.12) it is far too obviously given to the Church, for us to permit of the total exclusion of public exercise in gatherings of Believers. Knowing that the Lord had given me this gift is one of the reasons why I attend meetings where I know there will be reasonable liberty and orderly opportunity for its exercise, and I cannot feel it would be right to deliberately shut myself up into meetings where I know perfectly well there will be no liberty for spiritual gifts.⁶⁸

Gee was well aware that the use of tongues in public meetings and the doctrine of the initial evidence of the AOG were ‘a serious stumbling-block’ which hindered evangelicals from embracing the Pentecostal movement and became the main target of criticism. However, he believed that the doctrine was so important to the movement that Pentecostals must firmly hold to it, at the cost of being excluded from the evangelical camp. In this he sharply contrasts with Boddy, who acknowledged the possibility of the

⁶⁶ Donald Gee, ‘A Plea for Experience,’ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.3, No.5 (May 1922), 77.

⁶⁷ Donald Gee, ‘Speaking with Tongues The Initial Evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit,’ *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1, No.12 (December 1925), 7.

⁶⁸ Donald Gee. ‘Shall we give up tongues?,’ *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1, No.4 (January 1925), 10.

baptism of the Spirit without speaking in tongues. He continued to encourage the readers of *Redemption Tidings* not to compromise regarding this doctrine.⁶⁹

Not only the initial evidence position but also the usefulness of the gift of tongues in the public meetings was suggested by Gee, in spite of its limited use. He claims:

Occasionally used, however, it [the gifts of tongues] can have startling results, and this would seem to be the divine purpose. We are not referring to private uses of the gift for devotional purposes (1 Cor.14:2), but to its place in the public meeting.⁷⁰

Although initial evidence was a doctrine occasionally pronounced in the Elim Church, it was dominant in the AOG. The reason is that the AOG had no centripetal figures who could unite small assemblies, such as Elim had. In this respect, the persistence of the initial evidence of speaking in tongues in the AOG was necessary rather than optional. Not only did the doctrine become a common denominator in the AOG but it also became an important basis for Pentecostal spirituality. Chan argues that ‘if *glossolalia* is to be understood as the initial evidence (or the concomitant) of Spirit-baptism, it must be shown to constitute an essential part of a coherent schema of spiritual development in which one experiences growing intimacy with God and holiness of life. In short, without this final correlation between *glossolalia* and holiness, I doubt if the Pentecostal reality could be sustainable.’⁷¹ As a result, for members of the AOG, the doctrine represented their identity and *raison d’être*.

⁶⁹ Donald Gee, ‘Speaking with Tongues: The Initial Evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit,’ *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1, No.12 (December 1925), 7.

⁷⁰ Gee, *Pentecost*, 1932), 90-91.

⁷¹ Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition*, 64.

3.2. Stress on Speaking in Tongues in the Elim Church

Although the Elim Church did not officially maintain the doctrine of the initial evidence as the AOG did, the doctrine was occasionally claimed in the *Elim Evangel*. For example, William F. P. Burton,⁷² who became the joint editor of the *Elim Evangel* in March 1923, emphasises the importance of the doctrine. Burton wrote:

Thus, during the present dispensation, those who say they have received the Holy Spirit but have not spoken in tongues, have neither a scriptural experience, nor scriptural evidence. Some will say, "But at such and such a time I was filled with joy," or "my heart burned within me," or "I had a vision of the gloried Christ," or "my Bible became a new book," or "I have been used in healing and in bringing souls to Christ." Yet, before the Holy Spirit was poured out upon the disciples (John 7:39) they had joy (Lk. 24:52) ... Hence, blessed as these experiences are, none of them is proof of having received the Holy Spirit. They are only evidence that He is guiding and working with the believer.⁷³

However, Burton distinguishes the gift of the Spirit from the evidence of the Spirit. He contends that speaking in tongues as the evidence of the baptism of the Spirit is given to everyone, although not all could receive the gift of tongues.

Saxby, a regular writer for *The Elim Evangel* until he left the mainline Pentecostal movement over the issue of universalism, also spread the doctrine of initial evidence which he firmly held, differentiating tongues as the gift of the Spirit from tongues as the sign (or seal) of the baptism of the Spirit:

"Do all speak with tongues?" This question is seized upon triumphantly as a proof that everyone that is baptized in the Holy Ghost need not speak in tongues. As a sign, Jesus said that believers should speak in new tongues; and we believe the Acts of the Apostles shows that it was universal as an evidence of the baptism. But here it is a question of gifts "set in the church" (Ch. 12, 28) for its building up. Be it noted here that

⁷² Burton's article was often appeared in *The Elim Evangel*. He was also close to the AOG.

⁷³ William F. P. Burton, 'The Baptism of the Holy Spirit' *The Elim Evangel* Vol.3, No.12 (December 1922), 186.

the Apostle claimed that this gift was needed in the church as much as any other, for its edification. It was not the denial of the SIGN of tongues to every believer as the seal of his baptism that Paul announced, but the denial that every one with a measure of the GIFT of tongues was by that bestowment called to speak a message in the Assembly.⁷⁴

Although it is true that Burton and Saxby were not members of Elim, their articles on initial evidence sometimes appeared in *The Elim Evangel*. It was because the Pentecostals still shared their work and the plan to form a Pentecostal denomination was still under discussion at this time.

Moreover, there is better evidence for early Elim than Burton and Saxby. The doctrine of the initial evidence was also taught to the readers of *The Elim Evangel*. In a section for Bible study which discusses the baptism of the Spirit, this can be confirmed. It says, 'What is the first outward evidence of the Baptism? Speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.'⁷⁵ Later, the Elim church officially announced the significance of speaking in tongues in the *Statement of Fundamental Truths*. Its fifth clause says, 'we believe that the present latter day outpouring of the Holy Ghost, which is the promise of God to all believers, is accompanied by speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.'⁷⁶

Moreover, the church also supported the five charismatic offices, which had been emphasised by the AFC of Hutchinson, and adopted them as one of its fundamental truths. It says that 'we believe that God has given some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry [to the churches], for edifying of the body of Christ.'⁷⁷ Although this doctrine was the main doctrine for the exclusion of the AFC from the

⁷⁴ A. E. Saxby, 'The Gift of Tongues,' *The Elim Evangel* Vol.2, No.2 (March 1921), 33.

⁷⁵ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.3, No.8 (August 1922), 128.

⁷⁶ Elim Pentecostal Alliance, 'Statement of Fundamental Truths,' *The Elim Evangel* Vol.4, No.8 (August 1923), separate page.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

mainstream Pentecostal movement because of their excessive tendency to rely on the prophecies, the Elim church also upheld this doctrine.

Hollenweger argues that the doctrine of initial evidence was not claimed in Elim, using George Jeffreys' book, *Pentecostal Rays*, which was published in 1933.⁷⁸ In this book, Jeffreys claims in a softened tone that 'the silence of Scripture on the question of it being the initial sign *negatives* the claim that it must necessarily follow in every case.'⁷⁹ However, the above evidence shows that initial evidence was also claimed in the early Elim Church and it was not until July 1929 that the Elim Church clarified its position on speaking in tongues. In the *Fundamentals of the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance*, the Elim Church denied the initial evidence and acknowledged the possibility of other signs of the baptism of the Spirit. It says under the heading 'THE BAPTISER' that 'We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Baptiser in the Holy Ghost, and that this Baptism with signs followings is promised to every believer.'⁸⁰ Although it is true that Elim never made initial evidence its official position, the doctrine was occasionally claimed (or was at least allowed to be claimed) in *The Elim Evangel* in the formative period of Pentecostal denominations.

4. Transition from the Fivefold Gospel to the Fourfold Gospel

Mark Cartledge argued that Boddy through *Confidence* promoted the fivefold Gospel, namely salvation, sanctification, baptism of the Holy Spirit, healing and the Coming King, although he did not use the term.⁸¹ However, the fourfold Gospel popularised by Aimee Semple McPherson later dominated the Pentecostal denominations. The transition from the fivefold Gospel, which had been strongly supported by the first

⁷⁸ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 200.

⁷⁹ George Jeffreys, *Pentecostal Rays* (London: Elim Publishing Co., Ltd., 1933), 37.

⁸⁰ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.X, No.10 (5 July 1929), cover i.

⁸¹ Mark Cartledge, 'The Early Pentecostal Theology of *Confidence* Magazine (1908-1926): A Version of the Five-Fold Gospel?', *JEPTA* 28.2 (2008), 117.

generation of British Pentecostals, to the fourfold Gospel, in particular in the Elim church, show the influence of American Pentecostalism.

4.1. Roots of the Fourfold Gospel and Development of the Fivefold Gospel in British Pentecostalism

Although Dayton goes back to the Methodism of John Wesley for the theological roots of Pentecostalism,⁸² it was Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919)⁸³ who at the Gospel Tabernacle in New York in March 1890 first proclaimed a ‘fourfold gospel,’ namely Jesus Christ as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King as a slogan of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. When Nienkirchen traces the similarity between Simpson’s fourfold Gospel and the Foursquare Gospel of McPherson, he argues, refuting McPherson’s claim to originality, that ‘when judged in its totality, the evidence seemed to point to the real creative mind behind the Foursquare Church [as] not that of Aimee Semple McPherson, but that of Simpson.’⁸⁴ Moreover, Robert Mapes Anderson goes on to claim that the C&MA changed its motto of Jesus Christ as ‘Saviour, Baptizer in the Holy Ghost, Healer and Coming King,’ substituting ‘Sanctifier’ for ‘Baptizer.’⁸⁵ However, according to Simpson’s own explication of the fourfold Gospel, there is no evidence that he replaced Sanctifier with Baptiser, and even he never implied sanctification as a result of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁶ Paul L. King also argues in his recent work that Anderson’s argument is wrong.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, some Pentecostals understood the matter as Anderson claimed it to be. Boddy, one of these, also believed

⁸² Dayton, *Theological roots of Pentecostalism*, 35-62

⁸³ Simpson’s attitude towards Pentecostalism has been disputed among academics. While Grant Wacker and Anderson claim that Simpson was hostile to Pentecostalism, Nienkirchen illustrates the point that Simpson was virtually a seeker of tongues. King refutes both sides and adds another opinion. He argues that Simpson did indeed maintain a kind of ‘seek not, forbid not’ position. See Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 147; Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson*, 133; Paul L. King, *Genuine God: The Cautiously Charismatic Story of the Early Christian and Missionary Alliance* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Word & Spirit Press, 2006), 284.

⁸⁴ Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson*, 2, 38.

⁸⁵ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 147.

⁸⁶ Albert B. Simpson, *The Four-Fold Gospel* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Christian Publication, Inc., n.d.), 27-46.

⁸⁷ King, *Genuine God*, 15.

that Simpson proclaimed the same fourfold Gospel as McPherson did later. Boddy wrote in *Confidence*:

He [Simpson] is at the head of a wonderful missionary organization. Hundreds of missionaries in China, India, West Africa, etc. are preaching the Four-Fold Gospel - Regeneration, Baptism of the Holy Ghost, Healing of the Body and the Coming of the Lord.⁸⁸

If Simpson was the herald of the fourfold Gospel, Boddy was the pivotal figure who widely disseminated the fivefold gospel through *Confidence* from the formative period of British Pentecostalism. The Keswick convention, as a British form of the holiness movement, combined the fourfold Gospel of Simpson and Pentecostal pneumatology to form the fivefold Gospel. This was a distinct feature of early British Pentecostalism and Boddy was a pivotal figure who spread this form of Pentecostalism, although he did not use the term ‘fivefold Gospel.’

4.2. Boddy’s Contribution in the Dissemination of the Fivefold gospel

In the announcement for the Third International Convention, Boddy emphasised that the convention was designed for ‘the teaching of Full Salvation, the New Birth, Sanctification, the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with Signs (“Tongues”), Fruit and Gifts, Divine Life for Spirit, Soul and Body, Health and Healing in our Lord Jesus Christ, and the soon coming of the Lord.’ The inclusion of the first two teachings, which were generally accepted as truth among evangelicals, was Boddy’s desire for the Pentecostal movement to be identified as a sound evangelical movement, although these were not discussed in the convention.⁸⁹ Boddy must have believed that the declaration of what *Confidence* supported was necessary to unite the Pentecostal assemblies, and prevent them from lapsing into fanaticism, separatism and doctrinal chaos. In particular, what

⁸⁸ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.9 (September 1909), 199.

⁸⁹ *Confidence* Vol.III, No.5 (May 1910), 120.

directly or indirectly influenced Boddy's decision was the movement of the Apostolic Church towards the forming of a Pentecostal denomination and the announcement of their doctrines in *Showers of Blessing*. From January 1910 on, Hutchinson announced what the church taught, including sensitive issues such as water baptism and pleading of the Blood in order to receive speaking in tongues, as discussed in Chapter Five. Boddy decisively avoided controversial issues when he included the doctrines in *Confidence*. He professed:

“Confidence” advocates an unlimited Salvation for Spirit, Soul, and Body; the Honouring of the Precious Blood; Identification with Christ in Death and Resurrection, etc.; Regeneration, Sanctification; the Baptism of the Holy Ghost; the Soon-Coming of the Lord in the air (1 Thess. iv, 14); Divine Healing and Health (Acts iv, 13).⁹⁰

As Malcolm John Taylor's thesis discusses Boddy's theology in detail,⁹¹ I think it is unnecessary to elaborate it here. The purpose of this section is simply to compare and analyse the difference between the fivefold Gospel of Boddy and the fourfold Gospel in the 1920s.

4.2.1. Salvation

Boddy believed the doctrine of total depravity taught in Calvinism. As human nature was entirely corrupt through Adam's original sin 'it is impossible to reform or in any way to make the old man acceptable to God.'⁹² Therefore, for Boddy, salvation is a new creation, not a refreshing.

Soteriology to Alexander and Mary Boddy meant threefold salvation, namely, salvation for body, soul and spirit. Although Cartledge is right to point out that *Confidence*

⁹⁰ *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.4 (April 1911), 75.

⁹¹ See Taylor, 'Publish and Be blessed.'

⁹² *Confidence* Vol.III, No. 1 (January 1910), 14.

emphasises new birth and regeneration rather than justification,⁹³ the rightness of God by faith was also announced.⁹⁴ However, it is clear that Boddy distinguished between justification and the experience of conversion. In his own testimony, Boddy wrote that ‘on St. Matthew’s Day, September 21st, 1892, the Lord gave me as a witness to my New Birth a Baptism or Anointing of His Holy Spirit.’⁹⁵ Although Boddy here used the term, ‘the baptism of the Spirit,’ it had a different meaning for the Pentecostals. For him, it was a witness that he was led to live ‘a different life’ and to reconcile himself with his enemies.⁹⁶

Taylor argues that Boddy’s view on salvation is in line with the soteriology of ‘classical Evangelicalism.’⁹⁷ Among Bebbington’s four characteristics of evangelicalism, it is crucicentrism and conversionism which are closely related with soteriology.⁹⁸ In *Confidence*, the evangelical doctrine of the cross and the necessity of the conversion experience are greatly emphasised in relation to salvation.

4.2.2. Sanctification

As seen in *Confidence*, the stress on sanctification was a dominant characteristic of the early British Pentecostal movement. This is because Boddy was deeply involved in the Keswick movement and the PLP of Reader Harris. With regard to sanctification, there is some disagreement between Cartledge and Randall. Refuting the argument of Randall, who claims that British Pentecostalism was significantly influenced by the Keswick convention, Cartledge argued at the Sunderland Centenary Conference in 2007 that sanctification in *Confidence* is closer to the perfection holiness of Wesleyanism than to

⁹³ Cartledge, ‘The Early Pentecostal Theology of *Confidence* Magazine,’ 118.

⁹⁴ *Confidence* Vol.III, No. 3 (March 1910), 63.

⁹⁵ Boddy, *Pentecost at Sunderland, A Vicar’s Testimony*, 4.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹⁷ Taylor, ‘Publish and Be Blessed,’ 179.

⁹⁸ Bebbington, *Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 24-33.

suppression of sins, according to the Keswick convention.⁹⁹ It is obvious that Boddy supported the entire sanctification of Wesleyanism as a condition of baptism of the Holy Spirit. As Cartledge argues, Boddy seemed to follow the Wesleyan holiness teaching: the best evidence of this is the following conversation between Boddy and Voget in *Confidence*.

Pastor Voget of Bunde, in East Friesland, asked “Was entire sanctification a condition for receiving such a Pentecost?” Answer: “Yes most emphatically. The teaching as to the Clean Heart has always been on the lines of Rom. Vi., 6 and 11.…”¹⁰⁰

However, it is obvious that Pentecostal sanctification was also affected by the Keswick teaching. First, although the holiness teaching in *Confidence* is close to the Wesleyan tradition, the early Pentecostals, including Boddy, did not support perfectionism. The denial of perfectionism was one of the main arguments at the Keswick conventions from its beginnings, the teaching of the suppression of sin being a logical consequence of refuting perfectionism.¹⁰¹ The denial of perfectionism is well shown in the criticism of Paul of Germany and his explanation in his defence. Pastors in Germany adopted a declaration against Pentecostalism in Berlin on 15 September 1909. With regard to the Pentecostal teaching on sanctification, the declaration claimed that Paul had taught that ‘the heart in itself can reach a sinless state.’ In response to this charge, Paul clearly denied perfectionism and opposed the term, ‘sinlessness.’ He even acknowledged the possibility of falling into sin after sanctification. Boddy wrote about Paul’s sanctification that ‘he [Paul] has ever tried to emphasise clearly that one who is sanctified in Christ, can even again be drawn away by sin, if he do not abide in

⁹⁹ Cartledge, ‘The Early Pentecostal Theology of *Confidence* Magazine,’ 120-123.

¹⁰⁰ *Confidence* Vol.II, No.1 (January 1909), 5.

¹⁰¹ Although the Keswick leaders constantly denied the charge that Keswick taught perfectionism, Chadwick and Warfield claimed that Keswick’s teaching belonged to perfectionism. See Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church Part II* (London: Adams and Charles Black, 1970) .471; Benjamin W. Warfield, *Perfectionism*, Vol.II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931), 555-558

Christ.¹⁰² It is obvious that Boddy also supported Paul's opinion because he expressed his agreement in *Confidence* with the correction of Paul's views on sanctification.

Second, while Wesleyans identified the baptism of the Spirit with sanctification or taught sanctification as a result of the baptism of the Spirit, some Keswick leaders, like the Pentecostal leaders, differentiated between baptism of the Spirit and sanctification. Torrey unequivocally separated baptism of the Spirit from sanctification and Pentecostals inherited this claim and formulated three steps – salvation, sanctification and baptism of the Spirit. Distinguishing between sanctification and baptism of the Spirit, Torrey had preached about entire sanctification in 1904, saying that 'the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit; and you cannot have Him, and sin. It is either the Holy Spirit or sin; and, as long as you hold on to one little fragment of sin, you cannot have Him.'¹⁰³ In this point, British Pentecostalism was also significantly influenced by Keswick.

The early Keswick leaders initially had the stance of suppressionists, but later preached entire sanctification, as a prerequisite for the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This claim was finally accepted by Boddy and the other Pentecostals. The Pentecostals believed that entire sanctification was an important precondition for Pentecostal baptism, stressing the necessity to be clean in heart. Taylor explains the difference between Pentecostal sanctification affected by the Keswick teaching and Wesleyan sanctification, as follows:

Barratt, in contradiction to the then contemporary holiness theology, denies that this baptism is synonymous with sanctification; rather it is a bestowal of spiritual power for service ... Barratt's concept of the Spirit baptism could still be accommodated within the framework of a doctrine of "subsequence", as taught by Finney, Mahan, Torrey, Simpson and other exponents of the Keswickian school of holiness theology.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Confidence* Vol.II, No.10 (October 1909), 230.

¹⁰³ Stevenson, *Keswick's Triumphant Voice*, 350.

¹⁰⁴ Taylor, 'Publish and Be Blessed,' 191-192.

4.2.3. Baptism of the Holy Spirit

As examined above, Boddy's pneumatology can be said to have been in two stages. At the beginning of the movement, his witness of other people's speaking in tongues and his own experience were so remarkable that he believed that tongues must follow as evidence of the baptism of the Spirit. However, there is clear evidence that he later gave up the doctrine of the initial evidence. Not only did he reduce the significance of receiving of tongues by his claims of the possibility of fake baptism of the Spirit, premature baptism by human methods and baptism of the Spirit without tongues following, but also he felt Pentecostal characteristics to be overshadowed by evangelical core values, such as the Blood and the Bible, which, to his mind, took precedence over Pentecostal distinctiveness. By contrast, most young Pentecostals reasserted the initial evidence position and firmly held to the doctrine as a crucial Pentecostal value.

4.2.4. Divine Healing

As seen before, Simpson's influence on the formation of Boddy's theology was not small and his theology on healing was no exception. In particular, Boddy's claim that healing in the atonement, the frequent use of the term 'faith healing' and the negative understanding of the use of medical means were also asserted by Simpson.¹⁰⁵

Dayton believes that Adoniram Judson Gordon, who held similar views on healing to Simpson's, formed his teaching on healing 'in dialogue with the emerging Christian Science of Mary Baker Eddy.'¹⁰⁶ Anderson also argues that Charles Parham, the father of Pentecostalism, recognised 'the affinity between his own doctrines and those of Christian Science and Spiritualism.'¹⁰⁷ However, Boddy always tried to differentiate Pentecostalism from Christian Science.¹⁰⁸ He even claimed that the cases of healing

¹⁰⁵ Dayton, *Theological roots of Pentecostalism*, 127-128.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁰⁷ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 87.

¹⁰⁸ He issued a tract against Christian Science. A. A. Boddy, 'Christian Science: A Soul Danger,' *Roker Tracts* No.9 (n.p., n.d.).

manifested by Christian Science were ‘mind-suggestion backed up by the cordial support of the Devil.’¹⁰⁹

The core teachings of Boddy in this regard can be summarised as follows. First of all, Boddy refutes the claim that sickness is God’s discipline to sanctify believers, but instead stresses that Christ is the life giver. He believed that sickness was ‘a work of the devil.’¹¹⁰ Second, he believed that the use of medical agents had no biblical support, and should be considered lack of faith, although they were sometimes necessary.¹¹¹ Third, Boddy did not ignore the usefulness of the medical system but believed that divine healing was a higher way for believers.¹¹² Fourth, he acknowledged the gift of healing and used the concept of divine healing, but ‘faith healing’ was his preferred term. Fifth, various types of healing could be manifested, for example, the sudden and unexpected sovereign grace of God, healings by earnest prayer, healings through laying on of hands or a handkerchief and healings by anointing with oil.¹¹³ However, he later disagreed with the popular use of a handkerchief in both Yoakum’s ministry and in the AFC, as discussed in Chapter Four, above.

Although Boddy acknowledged and practised faith healing, there were sharp contrasts between him and other Pentecostals in this matter. First, the use of the term, ‘faith healing’ was later refuted by Jeffreys. He argues that ‘divine healing’ is preferable to ‘faith healing’ because ‘the latter can imply belief in any kind of faith healing that might be taught in books that are decidedly anti-Christ.’¹¹⁴ Second, Boddy restricted the use of healing practice to a private place. He asserted that a healing ministry was possible ‘not in church. No robes. Generally (if the sufferer is able) in the vicarage. The “sick

¹⁰⁹ *Confidence* Vol.III, No.1 (January 1910), 8; *Confidence* Vol.III, No.8 (August 1910), 176.

¹¹⁰ *Confidence* No.2 (May 1908), 16; *Confidence* Vol.III, No.1 (January 1910), 11.

¹¹¹ *Confidence* Vol.III, No.1 (January 1910), 8-9; *Confidence* Vol.III, No.3 (March 1910), 70-71.

¹¹² *Confidence* Vol.VI, No.12 (December 1913), 232-233.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 234-235.

¹¹⁴ George Jeffreys, *Healing Rays* (Kent, UK: Henry E. Walter Ltd., ed. 1985), 2-3.

one” kneeling perhaps at the dining table.’¹¹⁵ By contrast, Pentecostal evangelists, among whom George Jeffreys was a prominent figure, gained their popularity through their healing ministry in public meetings. The specific practice of his ministry of healing is well illustrated in the memories of Landau, who witnessed the work of Jeffreys at the Royal Albert Hall. He recollects:

Jeffreys came down from the platform towards the sick, of whom there must have been some four or five hundred. He was followed by one of his helpers bearing a little receptacle containing oil, and by a few women who were there to assist the sick. Jeffreys approached them one after another, anointed their forehead or merely put his hands on their heads, leant over them and uttered a few words.¹¹⁶

Stephen Jeffreys and Smith Wigglesworth were active in practising healing in public meetings. In particular, the influence of Stephen Jeffreys in spreading the two major Pentecostal denominations – the AOG and the Elim Church – was immeasurable. The divine healing services at Barking, which were held in connection with George Jeffreys and helped him by paving the way to setting up the Elim churches in London, were so remarkable that local newspapers such as the *Barking Advertiser* and the *Stratford Express* reported in detail the scenes at the meetings.¹¹⁷ Stephen left Elim owing to a rift between himself and George and joined the AOG in 1926 at the invitation of J. Nelson Parr, chairman of the executive presbytery of the AOG. He added numerous members to the AOG through his healing ministry, because Parr wanted Stephen to become a forerunner of the evangelistic works of their newly formed denomination.¹¹⁸ Although it is true that Boddy supported the ministry of healing, he limited the use of healing to private places, in contrast to other Pentecostals.

¹¹⁵ *Confidence* No.129 (April-June 1922), 21.

¹¹⁶ Landau, *God is My Adventure*, 157.

¹¹⁷ The articles were contained in the biography written by his son. Jeffreys, *Stephen Jeffreys*, 51-56.

¹¹⁸ Jeffreys, *Stephen Jeffreys*, 69.

The discord between Boddy and the other Pentecostals over the healing ministry deepened after 1920. It is noticeable that Boddy much relied on the healing ministry of the Church of England. Although the healing ministries of Stephen Jeffreys and Wigglesworth were also reported in *Confidence*, examples of the healing ministry of the Church of England also appeared not infrequently in *Confidence*.¹¹⁹ In particular, Boddy's support for the healing ministry of James Moore Hickson, an Anglican layman, aroused direct criticism from other Pentecostals. Hickson believed that he received the gift of healing when he laid his hands on his cousin who was suffering from neuralgia and witnessed the relief of her pain. He founded the Society of Emmanuel in 1905 and published a pamphlet, *The Healing of Christ in His Church*, which considerably influenced leaders of the Church of England, including Archbishop Davidson.¹²⁰ Boddy was so impressed by the healing ministry of Hickson who had held healing missions in the US, Egypt, Ceylon and India in 1921 with remarkable results, that he reported on several meetings at Anglican churches in Israel and Australia in *Confidence*. When accounts of Hickson's ministry first appeared in the January-March issue of *Confidence*, Moser, who had been a member from 1915 and acted as the treasurer of the PMU, criticised both Hickson and Boddy in serial letters to Mundell. Based on the Earl of Sandwich's book, *Spiritual Healing*, and remarks from those who claimed to be friends of Hickson, Moser criticised Hickson for praying for the dead and believed that 'Hickson has a large following among extreme ritualists' who were 'mixed up with idolatrous practices, from which the Church of God is called to come out and be separate.'¹²¹ On 20 April 1921, Moser insisted that the council needed to take action against the teaching in an article which Boddy printed in *Confidence*. Moser wrote:

¹¹⁹ For example, Boddy recommended 'A Handbook of Divine Healing' written by J. T. Butlin, Rector of Stock Bliss, Tenbury, and introduced reports of healing reports in the Church Missionary Society. *Confidence* No. 125 (April-June 1921), 22-23, 27-28.

¹²⁰ Charles W. Gusmer, *The Ministry of Healing in the Church of England, An Ecumenical-Liturgical Study* (Great Wakering, Eng.: Mayhew-McCrimmon Ltd., 1974), 12.

¹²¹ Moser to Mundell (28 January 1920, DGC, E. W. Moser 9 File.

I think that the Council of the P.M.U. ought to at least hear what I have to say on this subject and give it their serious thought and attention. If the other Members of our Council come to see as I do respecting Mr. Hickson then we should take some steps to obviate our work from being mixed up with Hickson's in such reports as appear in *Confidence*.¹²²

He diverted his criticism to Boddy, who had submitted his resignation as a member of the PMU Council a few days before, for doctrinal reasons. Moser blamed Boddy for losing the Pentecostal elements of his faith. He continued:

A short time ago Mr Boddy intimated to the Council that he differed with them on some points of Pentecostal doctrine. I have reason to believe that Mr Boddy is less Pentecostal and more Church than ever before and that if he has to sever with either he would sever with us.¹²³

Moser's criticism resumed when another supportive article on Hickson's healing appeared in *Confidence* in July 1923. Boddy was again reproached by Moser for weakening his former Pentecostalism. Moser's letter says:

I see in the last issue, Mr Boddy is going strong again on Hickson. I think Mr Boddy is now more in favour of the ritualistic healer in the C. of E. than of true Pentecostal work. There is much in the secular press just now about this so-called 'spiritual healing' by rite and it is bound to cause much confusion in the minds of inexperienced Christians in the true church of Christ. We leaders are responsible to discriminate between the two, the true and the false teachings.¹²⁴

The appearance of Mrs Boddy's article in *Confidence* entitled, 'Spiritual Healing,'¹²⁵ which in Moser's opinion contained 'unpardonable errors,' made Moser decide that 'the Boddys have gone right over to the doctrines of the high-church people on healing' and

¹²² Moser to Mundell (20 April 1921), DGC, E. W. Moser 9 File.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Moser to Mundell (31 August 1923), DGC, E. W. Moser 9 File.

¹²⁵ *Confidence* No.140 (May 1925), 166-167.

that they had severed themselves ‘entirely from the truth they used to teach and hold.’¹²⁶

Robert Mapes Anderson argues that ‘speaking in tongues and healing, because of their frequency in Pentecostal meetings and because of their spectacular character, appeared to be the central message of the Pentecostals, in particular to non-Pentecostals.’¹²⁷ However, his limited use of core Pentecostal practices, his support for the ritualistic healing ministry and use of the term ‘spiritual healing’ instead of ‘divine healing’ led the new Pentecostal leaders to understand that Boddy was no longer the Pentecostal he used to be.

4.2.5. Coming of Jesus

It has often been claimed that eschatology occupied an important place in Pentecostal teaching. Bloch-Hoell claims that ‘the eschatological element is more dominant in Pentecostal teaching than in the majority of Christian churches.’¹²⁸

Premillennialism spread widely into evangelical society through the work of John Nelson Darby, an Irish clergyman, and Simpson and Moule, who influenced Boddy, were strong supporters of premillennialism.¹²⁹ There is no doubt that Boddy himself continually claimed the imminent return of Christ. In particular, the outbreak of the war made most Pentecostals stress the nearness of Christ’s return, regardless of what views on the war they held. Taylor, without presenting proper evidence, claims that Boddy’s patriotism was supported by many Pentecostals, noting that ‘Mary Boddy’s fierce patriotism, and her defence of the war effort on the grounds of the “just war” argument,

¹²⁶ Moser to Mundell (21 May 1925), DGC, E. W. Moser 8 File.

¹²⁷ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 80.

¹²⁸ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal movement*, 154.

¹²⁹ The transition from postmillennialism to premillennialism is well examined by Dayton in *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 162-163

was shared by her husband, and many other leading Pentecostals of that era. Nevertheless, the later breed of denominational Pentecostal tended to adopt a pacifist position.’¹³⁰ However, other contrary evidence shows that many Pentecostals - including the Carter brothers, Gee and Mundell, who was secretary of the PMU - had supported pacifism even before Pentecostal denominations were formed, as noted in the previous chapter. It is significant that the ideological background of pacifism is the eschatological hope of the imminent return of Christ. Young Pentecostals, in particular the Carter brothers and Gee, believed that conscientious objection was the true expression of Pentecostal belief. In this respect, there was a difference between Boddy and the young Pentecostals, although all of them supported premillennialism. It may be assumed that the young Pentecostals thought that Boddy was lacking in eschatological hope because his support of the war showed his strong involvement in the earthly work of his movement, rather than resting in the hope of the world to come.

One point to remember is that Pentecostal eschatology was closely connected with the need for the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit, as the latter rain. Jacobsen argues that the significant characteristic of eschatology in early Pentecostalism was not the immanent coming of Christ itself but its emphasis on the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit as a precondition of rapture at the time of the return of Christ.¹³¹ One of the frequent sermon topics of the early Pentecostals was the parable of the ten bridesmaids waiting at night for the bridegroom to arrive. The Pentecostals stressed with this parable the significance of the preparation of the lamps with oil, which represents the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues. In other words, Pentecostal eschatology represented as the latter-day reign of Christ was the combination of the existing premillennialism of the evangelicals and the necessity of the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit. This would

¹³⁰ Taylor, ‘Publish and Be Blessed,’ 320.

¹³¹ Douglas G. Jacobsen, *Thinking in the spirit* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003), 81-83.

produce a great revival to complete the command of Christ to preach the gospel throughout the whole world. On this point, the eschatology in *Confidence* can be divided into three periods.

First of all, before the outbreak of the war, the main theme in eschatology was the latter-day reign of Christ.¹³² In this period, the emphasis of eschatology in Pentecostal messages was not only the coming of Christ itself but the Pentecostal blessing as a presage of the *parousia*. Just before the war broke out, Boddy preached on eschatology at the Sunderland Convention. He believed that the ‘Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Ghost is also pointing to a close of the dispensation, while the messages given by the Holy Spirit in all parts of the world have been: “Maranatha, Maranatha, Jesus is coming soon.”’¹³³ However, the outbreak of the war changed the character of the eschatology. The prediction of the time of the Second Advent, the hardships of the war as works of the Antichrist, the entering of Turkish armies into the holy land as a sign of imminent Armageddon and the characteristic of Christ’s Coming were the main subjects in relation to eschatology, and there was a conspicuous curtailment of the message on the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit to prepare for the latter-day reign of Christ.¹³⁴ It is obvious that the Great War must have changed the central point of eschatology from the significance of the Pentecostal outpouring towards the phenomena of the end time. Therefore, it can be said that this characteristic of Pentecostal eschatology rapidly lost importance and at this stage there was no difference between the Pentecostals’ eschatology and that of the evangelicals. Then, after the war, the messages in *Confidence* on Pentecostalism and eschatology grew fewer and fewer. Pentecostals had believed that the war was a sign of the end time, but the spread of post-war euphoria

¹³² *Confidence* No.1 (April 1908), 19; *Confidence* Vol.III, No.12 (December 1910), 281.

¹³³ *Confidence* Vol.VII, No.6 (June 1914), 116.

¹³⁴ *Confidence* Vol.VII, No.9 (September 1914), 170; *Confidence* Vol.VII, No.11 (November 1914), 204; *Confidence* Vol.VIII, No.2 (February 1915), 26; *Confidence* Vol.IX, No.1 (January 1916), 8-9, 11-12; *Confidence* Vol.X, No.3 (May-June 1917), 41; *Confidence* Vol.X, No.6 (November-December 1917), 91; *Confidence* Vol.XI, No.3 (July-September 1918), 48-49.

quickly reduced the hope in the return of Christ after the war ended. Taylor suggests that the decline of the eschatological hope diverted the attention of some Pentecostals to confronting present needs, one of which was the formation of new Pentecostal denominations. He touches on the relationship between eschatology and denominationalism as follows:

The question can fairly be asked, therefore, was Boddy using *Confidence* as a vehicle for effectively delaying this process of denominationalism, based on his eschatological concepts? Although Boddy was sounding the warning above as early as 1911, it appears that the burning hope of an imminent return of Christ to earth was so all-consuming among the early Pentecostals that that [it] itself proved a restraint on the establishment of Pentecostal denominations. However, as this hope gradually receded, and the ravages of war had taken their toil, conditions in Britain became more settled in the post-war euphoria.¹³⁵

Massey also argues that ‘Boddy’s opposition to sectarian development within Pentecostalism was based on his eschatological ecumenical vision and as such can be seen as contributory to the delaying factor of Boddy’s attitude in general.’¹³⁶ Here, both Massey and Taylor claim that Boddy’s eschatology was a delaying factor in the forming of Pentecostal denominations. They assume that the emphasis on the premillennial return of Christ through *Confidence* weakened the demand for Pentecostal denominations. However, in contrast to *Confidence*, the denominational magazines still stressed eschatology after the war. While the Pentecostal eschatology in *Confidence* – the combination of Pentecostal pneumatology and premillennialism – began to wane after the war, *The Elim Evangel* and *Redemption Tidings* continued to stress the Pentecostal eschatology.¹³⁷ Therefore, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, as Massey and Taylor argue, the weakening of eschatology in *Confidence* became a positive influence in forming a Pentecostal denomination, and made British

¹³⁵ Taylor, ‘Publish and Be Blessed,’ 332.

¹³⁶ Massey, ‘A Sound and Scriptural Union,’ 303.

¹³⁷ *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1 No.1 (July 1924), 9-10.

Pentecostals seek unity within a Pentecostal denomination. Second, the emphasis of Pentecostal eschatology in the Pentecostal denominations helped the Pentecostals to establish their distinctive identity.

4.3. Overshadowing of the Fourfold Gospel in British Pentecostalism

If it can be said that Boddy is a herald of the fivefold Gospel, as Cartledge argues, then the extensive acceptance of the Foursquare Gospel in the Pentecostal denominations, in particular in the Elim church, was noticeable. The editor of *Redemption Tidings*, the organ of the AOG, announced that ‘If the Lord tarries, amongst other very interesting features next year will be the following: FOUR SPECIAL ISSUES - Salvation - Divine Healing - Baptism in the Holy Spirit - the Coming of the Lord – i.e., a Special Number for each subject.’¹³⁸ It is evident that the Foursquare Gospel became the basis for the dominant doctrines in the British Pentecostal denominations.

4.3.1. Modification of the Fourfold Gospel by McPherson

As mentioned before, there is no doubt that the initiator of the fourfold Gospel was Simpson. However, it was not his fourfold Gospel but McPherson’s Foursquare Gospel which significantly influenced British Pentecostalism in the 1920s. With regard to the roots of the Foursquare Gospel, it came to her by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit at a meeting in Oakland, California. According to her own testimony. God gave her the term, Foursquare Gospel, when she preached on the subject of ‘The vision of Ezekiel (Ezekiel 1:1-28).’¹³⁹ Contradicting McPherson, Sutton argues that ‘the fourfold Gospel was a common concept among both Pentecostal and holiness groups in the late 1800s and early 1900s, focused on the nature of Christ’s character; he was saviour, baptizer with the Holy Spirit, healer and coming king.’¹⁴⁰ Although Sutton does not indicate

¹³⁸ *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1, No.11 (November 1925), 5.

¹³⁹ Aimee Semple McPherson, *The Foursquare Gospel* (USA: Echo Park Evangelistic Association Inc., 1946), 20-21.

¹⁴⁰ Matthew Avery Sutton, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America*

Simpson's name, it is beyond doubt that he gives credit to Simpson as the initiator of the Foursquare Gospel. McPherson replaced 'the Sanctifier' with 'the Baptiser of the Spirit.' There is no doubt that McPherson knew Simpson's fourfold Gospel because it was widespread among Pentecostals. It seems that William Durham influenced McPherson in replacing a part of Simpson's motto with 'the Baptiser of the Spirit,' which had been the popular theme in the Pentecostal camp.¹⁴¹ McPherson and her first husband, Robert Semple, were closely associated with William Durham for nearly one and a half years.¹⁴² Blumhofer notes Durham's influence on the Semples, saying that 'when Robert Semple associated with Durham, then, he also positioned himself in a particular part of the Pentecostal landscape. Durham had other strong views that set him apart from some other Pentecostals and that he shared with Semple.'¹⁴³

Most American Pentecostals believed that regeneration, sanctification and the baptism of the Spirit were definite experiences. Influenced by the Fire-Baptised Holiness group of B. H. Irwin, they believed that sanctification must follow after conversion, and was a prerequisite for receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit. However, contrary to the holiness-rooted Pentecostals, Durham taught, so to speak, 'the Finished Work': that sanctification was a gift at conversion.¹⁴⁴

It is interesting that Boddy issued the following statement as an appeal for reconciliation between the two parties divided by this doctrinal issue, when he attended the camp meetings at Colgrove, Los Angeles:

(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007), 44.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 20-21, 44.

¹⁴² Aimee Semple McPherson, *This is That: Personal Experiences, Sermons and Writings of Aimee Semple McPherson, Evangelist* (Los Angeles: The Bridal Call Publishing House, 1919), 68-75.

¹⁴³ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister* (Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993), 72, 81.

¹⁴⁴ Carl Brumback, *Suddenly ... From Heaven* (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Pub. House, 1961), 98-99.

RECOGNIZING THE GREAT NEED OF UNITY the Body of the Lord (see Cor. 12 :25 and 11:31), and noting the opportunities Satan is getting through sad divisions, WE by the help grace of our Lord do undertake individually collectively to refrain from condemning one another on the matter of the question known on the one hand as “THE SECOND WORK OF GRACE” and on the other as “THE FINISHED WORK OF CHRIST.”¹⁴⁵

However, all attempts at reconciliation were useless and this controversy left an incurable schism in the American movement.

It is not clear which view of the two McPherson supported: the three stages, salvation sanctification and baptism of the Holy Spirit, or the two stages, omitting sanctification. However, it seems that her view seems to be close to Durham’s two-stage belief, because she claims that sanctification comes to believers at the time of salvation.¹⁴⁶ She wrote in *The Bridal Call*:

By the Blood of Jesus Christ we are cleansed, emptied, consecrated and purified. It is only then that we are fit receptacles for the Holy Ghost to co[c]me into. ‘the Holy Spirit will not enter the sinful heart. We must first be cleansed. The Baptism of the Holy Ghost comes upon the glowing, consecrated heart and fills it to overflowing.’¹⁴⁷

Another article shows that she seems to include sanctification in the first doctrine of the Foursquare Gospel, which is salvation. She writes that ‘THE FIRST CORD IS SALVATION FROM SIN. What a beautiful cord it is ... Praise God! Jesus is the Saviour who strikes off the shackles, who cleanses the black heart and makes it whiter than the driven snow. The second cord is the baptism of the Holy Ghost.’¹⁴⁸ This new version of the fourfold Gospel became popular through the USA and Canada through

¹⁴⁵ *The Latter Rain Evangel* Vol.4, No.12 (September 1912), 12.

¹⁴⁶ Brumback argues that Durham’s teaching on sanctification was not confined at the time of conversion, although it cannot be denied that Durham considerably emphasised instant sanctification. Brumback, *Suddenly ...From Heaven*, 101.

¹⁴⁷ Aimee Semple McPherson, ‘The Baptism of the Holy Spirit: Doctrinal Sermon by Aimee Semple McPherson,’ *The Bridal Call* (January 1926), 11.

¹⁴⁸ *The Bridal Call* (February 1926), 7.

her fame and her memorable building, the Angelus Temple, and finally reached Britain in the middle of the 1920s.

4.3.2. The Elim Church's Accommodation of the Foursquare Gospel

The name of Aimee Semple McPherson first appeared in the *Elim Evangel* in its January issue 1922.¹⁴⁹ Two months later, the report of two missionaries who witnessed McPherson's revival meetings in Ohio was inserted in the magazine as an extract from *Kirkekeokken*, the Danish Pentecostal Magazine. Divine healing was conspicuous in these meetings.¹⁵⁰

In June 1924, Jeffreys, with four members of the EEB, visited Canada and the United States in order to acquire broad experience on the other side of the Atlantic. He arrived at the Angelus Temple simply to attend meetings after he had conducted several meetings in Canada, but Mr W. Black, McPherson's co-worker, introduced him and his party to McPherson. The scene at Angelus Temple was unforgettable: Boulton wrote that 'it was a most impressive sight to see that large auditorium filled with people and to witness the great number of souls seeking the Lord at the close of each service.' McPherson and her huge church gave the British party 'an enlarged vision of the possibilities' in their belief 'with an intensified determination' to extend the Elim Church's work in Britain.¹⁵¹ After McPherson withdrew from the AG, she was criticised by some Pentecostals, in particular from the AG, for her lack of Pentecostal characteristics. However, R. E. Darrah confirmed that, when he visited her at the Angelus Temple in 1924, McPherson firmly held the view of the initial evidence of the baptism of the Spirit. He wrote:

¹⁴⁹ *The Elim Evangel* (January 1922), 3-7.

¹⁵⁰ *The Elim Evangel* (March 1922), 35.

¹⁵¹ Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, 156-157.

Rumours have gone abroad that Sister McPherson does not stand for the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the Bible evidence of speaking in tongues. This is not so. In conversation with her, she said, "I hope you stand firmly for Acts ii, 4?"¹⁵²

Darragh described how deeply McPherson impressed the British people at the Royal Albert Hall:

Almost in the centre of the metropolis stands the stately Royal Albert Hall, a place that has been the scene of some remarkable meetings. Prima Donnas in the musical world have stood on its platform, and have charmed their vast audiences; leaders in the political world have swayed the masses; but never was a British congregation held as spellbound as when our beloved Sister, Aimee Semple McPherson, stepped onto its platform and preached the Foursquare Gospel. Twenty thousand ears listened with rapt attention, all afraid to lose the least syllable.¹⁵³

Although the influence of the Foursquare Gospel was dominantly felt in the Elim church, its impact on the AOG was not negligible.¹⁵⁴ Because the AOG and the Elim church had negotiated to unite, the two denominations were under the influence of the Foursquare Gospel. However, after the Pentecostals failed to come to an agreement to unify, the influence of the Foursquare Gospel in the AOG rapidly diminished, in contrast to the Elim Church, which was dominated by the Foursquare Gospel and identified with its doctrine. Moser's letter, quoted below, shows its influence on the Elim Church:

We have had some of the overflow from George's meetings. Strangers who have come to our meetings lately all testify that they are "four square," but I hope soon they will have something better to say than that. I think it is a very great pity and mistake to introduce new terms such as "four square" into this wonderful Pentecostal work . . . I intend to

¹⁵² R. E. Darragh, 'My Visit to the Beautiful Angelus Temple,' *The Elim Evangel* Vol.5, No.12 (December 1924), 271.

¹⁵³ *The Bride Call* Vol.X, No.1 (June 1926), 14.

¹⁵⁴ *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1, No.10 (October 1925), 1; *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1, No.11, (November 1925), 5.

keep the unity of the Spirit with the so-called “four square” people as far as possible.¹⁵⁵

Similarly, Gee noted that the term ‘foursquare’ rapidly took root in people’s minds because it was a ‘slogan’ which was easy to proclaim and to be remembered.¹⁵⁶ From March 1926, the Elim Church started to use the term ‘Elim Foursquare Gospel Churches’ in its official organ and the name of the Foursquare Gospel dominated all its messages and writings.¹⁵⁷

4.3.3. The Significance of the Foursquare Gospel in British Pentecostalism

There was an affinity between Jeffreys and McPherson. Because McPherson started her own evangelistic ministry after the relationship between her and the AG was severed in January 1922, and was finally led to form a Pentecostal denomination, namely the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, George Jeffreys accelerated the growth of the Elim Pentecostal Church in the British Isles when it failed to unite with the AOG. It is possible that Jeffreys and McPherson’s failure to unite with the AOG and the AG respectively led them to form their own association, sharing the Foursquare Gospel - Saviour, Baptiser of the Holy Spirit, Healer and the Coming King - although there was no official connection between them.

While the doctrine of the initial evidence became an important factor by which the AOG could unite the scattered assemblies, the Foursquare Gospel became a central feature of the Elim Church. The initial evidence was also stressed in *The Elim Evangel* by Gee and Saxby but their separations from Elim¹⁵⁸ made the doctrine less emphasised in the Elim Church. The Foursquare Gospel played an important role in rebuilding the Pentecostal

¹⁵⁵ Moser to Mundell (21 October 1927), DGC, E. W. Moser 8 File.

¹⁵⁶ Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 122.

¹⁵⁷ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.VII, No.7 (15 March 1926), 61.

¹⁵⁸ While Saxby severed connections with the mainstream Pentecostalism because of his support for universalism, Gee became a devoted writer for *Redemption Tidings* rather than *The Elim Evangel* after he joined the AOG.

identity of the Elim Pentecostals, while the AOG gathered under their own umbrella, cherished the initial evidence as their central belief.

The Foursquare Gospel is important in two ways. First, it is a Christologically-centred doctrine, but apart from stressing the Saviour, which was a general characteristic of evangelicalism, the Pentecostals significantly restressed other characteristics. In this regard, the Pentecostal values, in particular the baptism of the Spirit, the ministry of divine healing and eschatology are stressed in this four-fold frame. Second, the emphasis of the baptism of the Spirit as the replacement for sanctification led to stressing the necessity of the Pentecostal baptism. In this respect, the accommodation of the Foursquare Gospel in the Elim Church had an important role in spreading Pentecostalism throughout the British Isles.

5. Reinforcement of the Nonconformist Doctrine: Water Baptism by Immersion

5.1. Debate over the Method of Water Baptism

David F. Wright points out that baptism is a significant issue in ecumenical theology but the primary place to discuss the ecumenical movement has been the Eucharist. He argues:

When ecumenical theologians tell us that the church is a Eucharistic community, I respond that they would be far truer to call in the New Testament to call it a baptismal community. When they set before us the goal of intercommunion, I want to place a higher premium on interbaptism. It is my judgement ... that in the New Testament baptism is more often made the ground of exhortation, admonition and instruction than the Lord's supper.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ David F. Wright, *Infant Baptism in Historical Perspective* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), 269.

This claim implies that baptism and Christian unity are closely related, and therefore it is important to deal with the baptismal disputes in order to bring unity among the Christians. However, the subject has been a thorny one on which it is difficult to reach agreement. The conflict between paedobaptists and credobaptists has continuously reappeared throughout church history. While the paedobaptists claims that infant baptism can be justified because it was supported by Augustine and Origen,¹⁶⁰ the latter argues that baptism must be administered only when an individual showed signs of grace, repentance and faith, as appeared in the Bible. Although the World Council of Churches in 1982 drew up an agreement under the title *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (BEM)* in Lima, in which Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Lutherans, Reformed, Baptists, Anglicans and others participated, it was again confirmed that the method of baptism was a difficult issue on which to come to an agreement.¹⁶¹

Similarly, the method of baptism was a matter of dispute between Anglicans and Pentecostals from Nonconformist denominations in the history of British Pentecostalism.

Boddy, as a devoted Anglican, was a strong supporter of infant baptism and published a devotional book on baptism and confirmation in 1895. He wrote about the need for infant baptism:

We lay them in the arms of His ambassador, and he baptizes the little ones into the Name of the Three-One God. The little one cannot understand the solemn service, and the dipping into the font, or the pouring of the water on its forehead. Yet God takes it as its FATHER, CHRIST its SAVIOUR, the Holy ghost as its GUIDE.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Donald Bridge and David Phypers, *The Water that Divides* (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1977), 75, 82

¹⁶¹ Wright, *Infant Baptism in Historical Perspective*, 276-284.

¹⁶² Alexander A. Boddy, *The Laying on of Hands* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1895), 27.

However, he emphasised the significance of Confirmation as the completion of baptismal service. He claimed that baptism is ‘the longest service of all the services’ in the Book of Common Prayer because it finishes at the confirmation service.¹⁶³

It is noteworthy that the backgrounds of most Pentecostals were not Anglican. Although these Pentecostals did not agree with the practice of infant baptism, the discord over this issue was latent from the beginning of the movement. However, there are cases that some Pentecostals received rebaptism after they accepted the Pentecostal blessings. For example, Robert Tweed, an early Pentecostal of the Elim Church, wrote in his memoir about his rebaptism. Tweed initially believed that he did not need water baptism by immersion because he had received infant baptism, but finally received rebaptism when pressed by Mr. Fulton.¹⁶⁴

Robinson observes that the doctrinal difference between the Anglican Pentecostals and those from other denominations was ‘not too serious and had there been a more general agreement they could surely have been resolved.’¹⁶⁵ It seems that Boddy’s dominant leadership blocked any attempt to raise the controversy on the grounds of unity. For example, Boddy asked the readers of *Confidence* not to raise any doctrinal issues, including those relating to methods of water baptism, at the Sunderland Convention in 1911.¹⁶⁶ Like Boddy, Polhill also refused to let the issue of methods of baptism be brought into Pentecostal meetings in order not to be involved in controversies, admitting that the issue could result in division. Barratt quoted Polhill’s remark in his article, as follows.

“I [Polhill] agree with your views regarding our attitude towards diversity of opinion regarding Baptism. I think we are entitled to hold on

¹⁶³ Ibid., 32.

¹⁶⁴ Robert Tweed, *Memoirs* (n.p., n.d.), DCC, 11-12.

¹⁶⁵ Robinson, ‘The Charismatic Anglican,’ 108-109.

¹⁶⁶ *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.3 (March 1911), 60.

to our views as firmly as we like, be they sprinkling or immersion, but have no right to force them upon our brother, or insist that he is wrong and we are right. It is different when we come to vital doctrines, such as the Atonement, the Eternity of Punishment, the Inspiration of the Word of God, and the Deity of our Lord. In these matters with all earnestness we should contend for the Faith, but with regard to the Baptism, with you, I believe it right to deal gently and in love, lest we cause schism unnecessarily.”¹⁶⁷

However, conducting water baptism for the converts during the Sunderland International Conferences was a source of discord among the British Pentecostals. The reports of water baptisms during the conferences of 1911 started to attract the public’s attention under sensational headlines in several newspapers.¹⁶⁸ The baptismal ceremonies conducted by Wigglesworth in 1913 and Longstrath, a missionary from South Africa, in 1914, caught the public’s attention, being conducted in the early morning and involving immersion in cold water; they were reported not only by local newspapers but also the national press.¹⁶⁹ In contrast, Boddy every week conducted a baptismal service following the Anglican tradition.¹⁷⁰ It is highly possible that two types of baptismal service were conducted during the conferences.

The methods of water baptism became a controversial issue when the council of the PMU appointed a new member of the council. Polhill on 7 November 1921 recommended Dr. Robert Middleton as a new council member but Moser objected to this appointment. ‘The PMU Minutes’ reported:

Mr Moser however wrote expressing grave doubt as to the wisdom of Dr. Middleton becoming a member of the Council, owing to the doctrine of

¹⁶⁷ T. B. Barratt, ‘An Urgent Plea for Charity and Unity,’ *Confidence* Vol.IV, No.3 (March 1911), 63.

¹⁶⁸ *Sunderland Daily Echo* reported this event under the title, ‘Salt-Water Baptism,’ *Sunderland Daily Echo* (8 June 1911), 3.

¹⁶⁹ *The Newcastle Daily Journal*, *Sunderland Daily Echo*, *Daily Sketch* and *The Daily Mirror* reported these events. *Sunderland Daily Echo* (3 June 1914), 4; *The Newcastle Daily Journal* (4 June 1914), 5; *Daily Sketch* (16 May 1913), 6; *The Daily Mirror* (16 May 1913), 5; (4 June 1914), 8.

¹⁷⁰ *All Saints’ Parish Magazine*, a uniform Anglican magazine which had spaces for each church to fill, reported lists of those who had received baptism in each issue.

Baptismal Regeneration expressly taught in the Prayer Book and practised by its ministers including Dr. Middleton and which is quite contrary to the sound teaching which all Pentecostal people strive to maintain.¹⁷¹

5.2. Pentecostals' Apologetics on Full-immersion

The early Pentecostals had various religious backgrounds. Although there is no doubt that some of them had thought that full immersion was the only effective baptismal method, there were also many Pentecostals who received infant baptism. Apart from the case of Robert Tweed, Smith Wigglesworth had both Anglican and Methodist backgrounds. He received water baptism by sprinkling of water in the Church of England at six months old and was confirmed at thirteen years. In addition, he was closely connected with a Methodist centre at Bradford which acknowledged infant baptism. Nevertheless, he became a strong proponent of credobaptism after he became a Pentecostal.¹⁷² This shift poses the question why the Pentecostals changed their position on baptism.

First, they argue that baptism should be based on the believers' faith. For the Pentecostals, full immersion is the only method that can be justified by the Bible, although sprinkling, pouring and immersion have all been used in the Church's history. Moreover, the Pentecostals always stressed that because the experience of conversion was one of the kernels of evangelical belief, baptismal regeneration could not be accepted. John Carter implied the significance of the conversion experience, refuting the baptismal regeneration.

No outward act or ceremony administered by man can take the place of regeneration, "for in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature" (Gal. vi, xi). This Scripture at

¹⁷¹ 'The PMU Minutes II' (7 November 1921), 2:422.

¹⁷² Cartwright, *The Real Smith Wigglesworth*, 19.

once gives the lie to the teaching of baptismal regeneration. Baptism, neither by sprinkling nor immersion can regenerate us.¹⁷³

Therefore, it stands to reason that the Pentecostals gave sanction only to immersion based on the conversion experience of the candidates, because conversion, not the methods of baptism, was always the hallmark for regeneration. The Pentecostals not only often criticised infant baptism but also re-baptised by full immersion those who had already received infant baptism. While the Anglicans understood that the Pentecostals conducted rebaptism, the Pentecostals considered the infant baptism which the candidates had already received as a kind of dedication service conducted by an improper method. Therefore, for the Pentecostals, the second baptism was not rebaptism but the only baptism conducted by a correct method. J. T. Warwick vindicated his rebaptism as follows: 'I had been sprinkled as an infant, but only looked upon it as a dedication service with the needless adjunct of water, for as an infant I could not possibly know anything as to what the figure or symbol meant at the time.'¹⁷⁴ J. N Parr, the first chairman of the AOG and editor of *Redemption Tidings*, also claimed that infant baptism was not baptism. In a form of letter to a person who asked whether he or she had to be baptised again although he or she had been baptised as an infant, Parr recommended rebaptism. He wrote that 'You will, of course, agree that you were sprinkled with water as an infant and not baptized seeing that nearly all eminent authorities agree that to baptize is to immerse or dip.'¹⁷⁵ What is more, some Pentecostals regarded infant baptism as a 'false' and 'satanic' institution. William F. P. Burton wrote:

At once Satan says "be sprinkled. Too much water is not good. And the sooner the better, so sprinkle babies, and if they cannot believe then let someone else believe for them, or let the water be said to regenerate them." Yet despite the fact that this god-father, god-mother, baby-sprinkling business has absolutely no place in God's word, even

¹⁷³ *Redemption Tidings*, Vol.8, No.7 (July 1932), 6-7.

¹⁷⁴ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.X, No.1 (1 January 1929), 6.

¹⁷⁵ *Redemption Tidings*, Vol.3, No.5 (May 1927), 2.

professing Christians help to perpetuate this false, satanic, Babylonian system, though tens of thousands are falling into Hell, clinging vainly to the Devil's hope that their baby-sprinkling made them heirs of the kingdom of heaven.¹⁷⁶

In this regard, George Jeffreys highlighted the significance of the believers' faith in connection to the method of baptism, whenever he conducted a massive baptism during his evangelistic campaigns. The three points were, first, that water baptism is not for saving a soul but for already converted people; second, that the claim of the regeneration by infant baptism was not correct; and third, that the efficacy of water baptism to the candidates lies in the believers' faith and their confession in public.¹⁷⁷

Moreover, it was natural for the Pentecostals to claim credobaptism because, in Pentecostal understandings, water baptism is closely connected with the baptism of the Holy Spirit. For the Pentecostals, baptism based on the believer's faith is a precondition for being baptised by the Spirit. Gee underlined the connection between water baptism by immersion and the baptism of the Spirit, designating the Spirit baptism as immersion in the Spirit:

There was to be something about this experience then that would be like baptism in water - only far mightier. That John baptised by immersion is not a point many will care to dispute, and therefore the first conception these people would gain would be of a complete immersion in the Spirit of God. This, in itself, would indicate something overwhelming to the entire being. Baptism by immersion was, and is, such an absolutely real experience so conscious to the candidate, so evident to the onlooker. Evidently this greater baptism will also be an absolutely real experience also, something that the recipient will feel supremely conscious of, something equally evident to the one standing by.¹⁷⁸

Second, the Pentecostals always put much emphasis on the restoration of the Apostolic age, and considered that immersion was the only method of baptism which is mentioned

¹⁷⁶ *Redemption Tidings*, Vol.1, No.7 (July 1925), 7.

¹⁷⁷ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.X, No.19 (6 September 1929), 293-294.

¹⁷⁸ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.VI, No.15 (August 1 1925), 176.

in the Bible. They believed that infant baptism was not a biblical method but invented by the church for convenience. James Salter of the Congo Evangelistic Mission also claimed ‘surely no one can justify any mode other than immersion,’ because infant baptism was not an Apostolic ordinance but an ecclesiastical institution, which did not appear until the end of the second century.¹⁷⁹ C. Kingston, a member of the EEB, criticised infant baptism for the same reason. He argued that water baptism by immersion was ‘the only mode’ conducted in the Apostolic ages and the sprinkling of water was used only on extremely rare occasions. He went on to claim that the method of sprinkling water was popularized in 1311 when Pope Clement V declared ‘immersion or sprinkling to be a matter of indifference.’¹⁸⁰ He also claimed that full immersion was the best representation of the death, burial and resurrection of Jesus Christ as the model of the believers’ life to follow.¹⁸¹

5.3. Doctrinalisation of Immersion by the Pentecostal Denominations.

Later, all Pentecostal denominations emphasised water baptism by immersion and believed that it was the only way of baptism in the Bible. Mogridge insisted that ‘water baptism is a command of God. Therefore imperative. It is not optional. We have no choice in the matter.’ He continued to criticise the practice of sprinkling of infant baptism as a counterfeit, a delusion and snare.¹⁸²

It must have been an uncompromising issue. Therefore, one can understand why the AFC adopted water baptism by immersion as one of their official doctrines as soon as they split from the mainstream of the Pentecostal movement, as examined in Chapter Four. Jeffreys of the Elim Church also strongly believed that ‘water baptism was part of

¹⁷⁹ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.VI, No.20 (15 October 1925), 236; *The Elim Evangel* Vol.IX, No.18 (1 November 1928), 287.

¹⁸⁰ *The Elim Evangel* Vol.VI, No.17 (September 1 1925), 193.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 195

¹⁸² *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1, No.4 (January 1925), 3-4.

the divine plan' and often conducted baptismal services during the conventions.¹⁸³ The Elim church included baptism by immersion as their official doctrine in the Fundamental Truths. This reads 'The Ordinances. We believe in the following ordinances - Partaking of bread and wine in memory of our Lord's death, baptism by immersion for believers, the laying on of hands and the anointing of the sick with oil.'¹⁸⁴ The baptism by immersion on the believers' faith was also clearly affirmed by the AOG. The AOG Minutes worded this doctrine in the fifth clause of *A Statement of Fundamental Truths*. 'The baptism by immersion in water is enjoined upon all who have really repented and have truly believed with all their hearts in Christ as Saviour and Lord. Matt. 28, 19; Acts 10, 47-48; Acts 2, 38-39.'¹⁸⁵

Massey argues that this doctrine of water baptism, which was compounded with 'the preservation of a distinctive Pentecostal testimony and other issues,' was an influential factor in the formation of Pentecostal denominations.¹⁸⁶ This doctrinal difference increased the need felt by Pentecostals of Nonconformist origin to become independent from the Anglican leadership.

6. Conclusion

The early Pentecostals always considered speaking in tongues as a core element in the Pentecostal movement. The evidence in *Confidence* shows that Boddy initially believed that tongues should follow as the consequence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit but later accepted the possibility of the baptism of the Holy Spirit without speaking in tongues. In addition, Boddy often expressed the view that the written word of God and love took priority over tongues, in order to prevent division and the excesses of Pentecostal practice in the Pentecostal movement. There is no doubt that these efforts contributed to

¹⁸³ Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, 152, 173.

¹⁸⁴ *The Elim Evangel*, Vol.X, No.10 (July 5 1926), cover i.

¹⁸⁵ *Minutes of the Assemblies of God* (Jan. to May 1924), 2.

¹⁸⁶ Massey, 'A Sound and Scriptural Union,' 220.

the growth of British Pentecostal movement during the periods of severe opposition. However, many Pentecostal leaders, in particular those of the AOG, thought that speaking in tongues must be re-stressed, considering that the Anglican leaders, Boddy in particular, weakened the character of Pentecostalism. As a result, when they formed the AOG they adopted initial evidence as their official doctrine.

Boddy's Pentecostalism was a British contextualised form of Pentecostalism. The tendency of the fivefold Gospel, including sanctification and the denial of initial evidence was part of Boddy's effort to make Pentecostalism acceptable to the evangelicals. When the Pentecostal movement was introduced in Britain, the opponents of Pentecostalism very much emphasised its origin in the USA, Los Angeles in particular, in order to alienate Pentecostalism from the evangelical movement. However, the two major Pentecostal denominations in Britain ironically started with significant influence from American Pentecostalism. First, the leaders of the AOG made initial evidence their core doctrine. Second, the Elim Church accepted the Foursquare Gospel from McPherson as their central doctrine. Although neither the AOG nor the Elim Church had any official relationship with the American denominations, American Pentecostalism again significantly influenced the formation of the British Pentecostal denominations after Boddy's withdrawal from the Pentecostal movement.

The theological comparison between Boddy and other Pentecostals shows that there were gap between them. The difference between them extended not only to their position on speaking in tongues but also to healing and eschatology. As regards speaking in tongues, there is clear evidence in *Confidence* to show Boddy's theological shift on this subject. In addition, the outbreak of WW1 added another division, this time on eschatology, among the Pentecostals. Meanwhile some Pentecostals, who later became the leaders of the AOG, believed that the Pentecostals should be pacifists and

any support for the war showed a lack of eschatological hope. With regard to a healing ministry, it is difficult to be sure whether Boddy and his wife changed their view of this because of the lack of evidence; but some Pentecostals did not like Boddy's support for the Anglican practice of healing ministry, believing it to be too ritualistic. Although methods of baptism had from the beginning of the Pentecostal movement, been a subject of division between Boddy and the other Pentecostals, it did not become a controversial issue until Boddy held the leadership. However, the leaders of the Pentecostal denominations avowed that baptism by full immersion was the only biblical method. For Boddy, these theological differences must have been a major obstacle to his remaining in the Pentecostal movement.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

1. Evaluation of Boddy's Contribution and His Limitation

There is no doubt that Boddy significantly contributed to the establishment of Pentecostalism, but his role and influence in the history of the British Pentecostal movement should be evaluated according to each period.

As observed in Chapter Three, in the formative period, his status as a vicar of the established church gave much respectability to Pentecostalism; and he could effectively defend Pentecostalism against its opponents. Not only could he spread Pentecostalism throughout the British Isles but also he could develop his leadership through the formation of the Sunderland Convention and the publication of *Confidence*. As a result, he forged unity within the Pentecostal movement and mapped out the characteristics of British Pentecostalism by his decision-making role over such theological and doctrinal issues as the place of speaking in tongues and the use of the gifts of the Spirit. Therefore, it can be said that this combination of Pentecostalism with Anglicanism is the striking feature of British Pentecostalism as compared with that of other countries.

However, with the growth of the movement, the multiplication of leadership was inevitable as different voices appeared within Pentecostalism. As seen in Chapter Four, the AFC, which was considered as an excessive group by the majority of Pentecostals and could not merit support from Boddy, finally became a sect severed from the mainstream. The outbreak of WW1 and the development of the Elim movement during the war periods, however, rapidly attenuated Boddy's leadership, for three reasons. First, his ministry was restricted to the parish work and war-related ministry such as his

voluntary assistance to the Chaplain of the Expeditionary Forces. Second, differences between Boddy and new Pentecostal leaders on the Christian attitude towards war also influenced the decline of Boddy's leadership. In contrast to Boddy's patriotism, most Pentecostals believed that pacifism truly corresponded with Pentecostalism, based on the eschatological hope of the return of Christ. Third, the rapid growth of the Elim movement was also a main cause of the diversity in the leadership. Because of the growth of the Pentecostal assemblies, an organisation had to be formed to unite the assemblies.

Chapter Six shows that after the war it was rare for Boddy to participate in the Pentecostal work and the move towards forming another organisation accelerated with the vacuum in the leadership. The Pentecostals, who were reluctant to accept the centralisation of leadership of Elim, formed the AOG. While the AOG chose the doctrine of the initial evidence as its common denominator, Elim introduced the foursquare gospel as its creed. In this regard, British Pentecostalism was influenced by American Pentecostalism and the characteristic idiosyncrasies of British Pentecostalism faded with the disappearance of the Anglican leaders. The theological differences between Boddy and the leaders of the Pentecostal denominations were outlined in Chapter Seven.

2. Was Boddy a Classical Pentecostal or an Ecumenical?

Wakefield claims that it would be incorrect to consider the decline of Boddy's role in the Pentecostal movement to be 'entirely caused by Boddy's actions.'¹ Although this judgment is fair, the wide discrepancy which developed between Boddy and the new leaders became impossible to overcome. Therefore, for Boddy, the Pentecostals' move towards denominationalism must be considered to be sectarian. On the contrary, for the

¹ Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy*, 212.

new denominational leaders, Boddy was no longer a Pentecostal but remained a devoted Anglican priest who had once spread Pentecostalism as a revival movement and had finally withdrawn from it.

As observed in previous chapters, Boddy's main concern was how to settle Pentecostalism in the evangelical soil, so it was inevitable that he would dilute some of the initial features of Pentecostalism to make Pentecostalism acceptable to the evangelicals. In this regard, the term 'Neutralised Revivalism' can be coined to denote Boddy's later involvement in Pentecostalism. This is a mixed type of revivalism, which lost its initial striking features in the process of conflict and accommodation with the societies to which the revival leader belonged. Since a significant 'cornerstone of classical Pentecostal theology' is that speaking in tongues is the evidence of the baptism of the Spirit,² it is inappropriate to say that Boddy was a classical Pentecostal. Moreover, it is not correct to call him an ecumenical, because his main concern was mainly limited within the Pentecostal movement; he did not promote unity or uniformity between the existing denominations, but merely wanted to prevent the Pentecostals from founding another denomination. Instead, he could be called a forerunner of the Charismatic leaders (or leaders of neo-Pentecostalism) who flourished after the 1960s.

3. Evaluation of the Theological Difference between Boddy and the Denominational Leaders.

Although Boddy contributed a great deal to the nurturing of British Pentecostalism and consolidating the foundation of Pentecostal belief on the basis of the fivefold gospel, a close examination of the fivefold gospel shows that there was a gap between him and the denominational leaders, as seen Chapter Seven, above. While the attitude to war was one of the significant differences between Boddy and the leaders of the AOG, it was not

² Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 193.

the crucial reason for Boddy's withdrawal. The main causes of discord and dispute were: 1) the Anglican dominance in leadership and the opposition of the Pentecostals to it from Nonconformists; 2) theological differences over such matters as speaking in tongues, healing and the method of water baptism. With regard to the leadership, Boddy and Polhill constantly clashed with the other Pentecostals in the PMU and were challenged by them. In addition, the view of speaking in tongues was a crucial element of the conflict between Boddy and the others, who believed that Boddy weakened the importance of speaking in tongues. Boddy's support for the Anglican healing ministry became one of main targets of attack from those who wanted to form a Pentecostal denomination. There is not enough evidence to judge whether Boddy changed his view on healing. Boddy's view may have been consistent throughout his life, but the denominational leaders believed that his view shifted towards the Anglican practice of healing. Moreover, the method of water baptism was another ground of difference between them.

4. The Leadership Shift in the British Pentecostal Movement: From an Individual Leader towards an Organizational Leadership

Toynbee in his book, *A Study of History*, claims that a civilisation is started by a creative minority who enlighten themselves by 'withdrawal' and then 'return' to enlighten a society. It was Boddy who encountered a new spirituality in his withdrawal to Norway and he returned to spread Pentecostalism to the evangelical society in Britain. The belief that he encountered the presence of God ('primal spirituality' in Harvey Cox's term, or simply 'primitivism' in Grant Wacker's)³ at the Pentecostal

³ Cox, *Fire From Heaven*, 81; Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 12; Keith Warrington in his recent book stresses the encounter as a significant characteristic of Pentecostalism. He claims that 'for Pentecostals, revelation is not just intended to affect the mind but also the emotions; theology is not explored best in a rationalistic context alone but also with a readiness to encounter the divine and be impacted by one's discoveries in a way that will enlighten the mind but also transform the life. Indeed, Pentecostal theology may be best identified as a theology of encounter - encounter of God, the Bible and the community.' Keith Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology, A Theology of Encounter* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 21

meetings led him to spread Pentecostalism. It is crucial in the formative periods that the Pentecostal movement should have respectability in the evangelical society. There is no doubt that Boddy, who had had wide recognition among the evangelicals, gave much respectability to the newly emerging Pentecostalism. Credit must be given to Boddy in this respect.

The leading role in spreading the Pentecostal movement through the publication of *Confidence*, the hosting of the international Pentecostal conferences and forming of the PMU helped Boddy to take a dominant leadership position before WW1. However, diverse expression of Pentecostal practice appeared, the AFC being one of them. However, the AFC failed to get any support not only from Boddy but also from the majority of Pentecostals, and finally chose to form their own denomination.

As the Pentecostal movement grew, it became impossible for a single dominant figure to control the whole movement. Given the conflicts between the Anglican leaders and the other Pentecostals over the leadership and some of the doctrines, many Pentecostals thought that Boddy had withdrawn from Pentecostal beliefs. When Boddy could no longer reflect the interests of the majority of Pentecostals, the formation of a Pentecostal denomination became not optional but requisite, in order to fill the vacuum of leadership.

As Hudson claims, the demand for a new denomination leaves the initial leader huge questions about whether or not he or she should take part in the new denomination.⁴ Jane Boddy's memoir shows that Boddy was under considerable pressure from other Pentecostals but in the end he stuck to the Church of England rather than joining the AOG. Finally he lost his leadership role and was even often criticised by other

⁴ Winthrop S. Hudson, 'Denominationalism as a Basis for Ecumenicity: A Seventeenth Century Concept,' in *Denominationalism*, Russel E Richey (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon, 1977), 24-25.

Pentecostals. At this point, it was necessary, for the sake of unity, to set up some doctrines to which the members of the denomination would generally agree. While the AOG chose the doctrine of initial evidence as their crucial common belief, the Elim church chose the foursquare concept.

APPENDIX I. EXPANSION OF THE EEB

Year	Names of New Members	Notes	Total Number
1915	George Jeffreys		3
	Miss Margaret Montgomery Streight		
	Robert Ernest Darragh		
1916	William Henderson		5
	Frederick Farlow		
1917-1918	T.J.Logan ¹	Withdrew from the EEB in 1919	7
	Robert Mercer		
December 1919	William Campbell		17
	Robert Tweed		
	Stephen Jeffreys		
	E.W.Hare		
	John Carter		
	Ernest J. Phillips		
	G. Fletcher		
	Mrs Fletcher	Became a deaconess in 1920	
	G. Every		
	Mrs. Every	Became a deaconess in 1920	
	Miss Adams		
December 1920	Cyril E. Taylor		23
	John B.Hamilton		
	T.J.Jones		
	James. McWhirter		
	Joseph Smith		
	Miss Henderson		
	Evan Clement Morgan		
	Miss Thompson		

1. The reason for his withdrawal from the EEB was his involvement in sexual affairs with women. The cases were examined by the council of the EPA and Logan was thought to be guilty. He threatened Jeffreys with legal action for defamation of character, but did not proceed with it.
2. John Long also joined the EEB in 1919 but resigned from the Band within a year. He is not included in the total numbers of the EEB in December 1919.
3. According to George Jeffreys, the number of regular workers was 21.
The Elim Evangel (December 1920), 7.

APPENDIX II. LEADERS OF THE PMU COUNCIL¹

Name	Periods		Position	Reason of Resignation, Connection with AOG
	From	To		
Cecil Polhill	1909	Jan.1925	President of the PMU	He resigned when the PMU became a missionary part of the AOG in 1925.
Alexander Boddy	1909	Feb.1924	MC, Editorial Secretary	Deterioration of health, Overload of Parish work, Doctrinal reasons.
T. H. Mundell	1909	End	MC, Secretary	
H. Small	1909	1920	MC	Dispute over a certain issue implicating Mr and Mrs Small and Charley. ²
C. Kennedy Reuss	1909	1910	MC	Unknown
Andrew Murdoch	1909	1913	MC	Unknown but probably his connection with the AFC.
Andrew W. Bell	1909	1910	MC	Unknown
Victor Wilson	1909	1910	MC	Unknown
T. M. Jeffreys	1909	Apr.1913	MC	Unknown
W. H. Sandwith	1909	1915	MC	Disagreement with these Council decisions: 1) Obliging students to attend the Church of England. 2) The Council's decision to require Corry and Clelland to return temporarily to Abbottabad. ³ Myerscough was appointed as a MC in 1925 and a member of the first Executive Presbytery of the AOG.
James S.Breeze	1913	1915	MC	
Thomas Myerscough	1910 (1925)	1915	MC(RAOG), PMTH	
Moncur Niblock	1909	1909	MC, PMTH	Dispute with Polhill over his spending habit in the management.
Mrs. Crisp	1909	1923	MC, PWTH	Died in October 1923
W. Glassby ⁴	1915	Jan.1925	MC, Treasurer	He believed that the amalgamation with the AOG was a 'mistake' and not 'God's will.'
Ernest W. Moser	1915	End	MC, Treasurer	He kept his office after the PMU amalgamated with the AOG in 1926.
Smith Wigglesworth	1915	Nov.1920	MC	Dispute with Polhill over his affairs with two women.
John Leech	1915	1923	MC	He could not attend the Council meetings because of busy engagement in connection with the Elim Church.
E. J. G. Titterington	1915	Jan.1925	MC, PMTH	Unknown
J. Hollis	1919	Jan.1921	MC, PMTH	Unknown but possibly his connection with the Apostolic Church. ⁵
E. Blackman	1921	1925	MC	Unknown
J. H. Duncan	1923	End	MC	

¹ Abbreviations: MC: Member of Council of the PMU, PMTH: Principal of Men's Training Home, PWTH: Principal of Women's Training Home, RAOG: Representative of the AOG.

² Smith Wigglesworth to Cecil Polhill (21 October 1920), DGC, Smith Wigglesworth's Letter File.

³ James S. Breeze, W. H. Sandwith and Thomas Myerscough to Mundell (20 May 1915), DGC.

⁴ W. Glassby was Polhill's business secretary. T. H. Mundel to Blunden (7 September 1922), DGC.

⁵ Smith Wigglesworth to Mundell (12 September 1923), DGC, Smith Wigglesworth's Letter File.

Name	Periods		Position	Reason of Resignation, Connection with AOG
	From	To		
Dr. Middleton	1922	Oct.1924	Vice President	He wrote that the reason was to 'facilitate matters and leave you [Council] less hampered in every way' in reconstructing the PMU.
John Carter	1925	End	MC(RAOG)	Member of the first Executive
Howard Carter	1921(1925)	End	(Superintendent of MTH), MC(RAOG)	Presbytery of the AOG in 1924.
G. T. Tilling	1925	End	MC(RAOG)	
Henry H. Roe	Apr.1925	End	MC(RAOG)	

APPENDIX III. CECIL POLHILL'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO *CONFIDENCE*

Year	Number of Donation(Times)	Total Donation(£)	Donation by Polhill(£)	Percentage(%)
Apr.-Dec. 1908	545	208	43	21
1909	1013	306	35	11
1910	920	297	44	15
1911	1077	344	65	19
1912	976	250	30	12
1913	1092	250	56	22
1914	1043	234	20	9
1915	925	223	35	16
1916	833	237	40	17
1917	442	152	40	26
1918	402	132	20	15
1919	339	169	50	30
1920	670	180	45	25
1921	263	133	60	45
1922	215	106	34	32
1923	147	84	35	42
Jan.-Oct. 1924	87	60	30	50
Nov. 1924 - Apr.1925	33	16	0	0
Mar.1925-1926	29	9	0	0
Total	11051	3390	682	20

1. Cutting away of the rest of the pound.
2. Including Special donations.
3. Donations during June 1911, October 1913, November-December in 1917 and April-June in 1921 are not included because of unavailability.

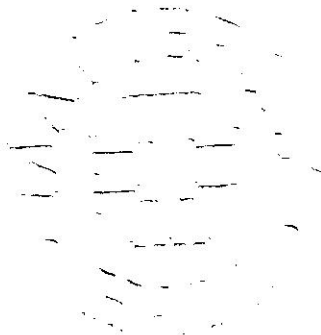
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I hereby grant Kyu-Hyung Cho permission to include in any publication of his PhD Thesis, the materials used from the Donald Gee Research Centre, Mattersey, DN10 5HD. This is specifically related to the quotation of the 'Constitution of the General Council of the AOG, 23 May 1922' and 'Assemblies of God of Gt. Britain and Ireland Minutes (Jan. to May 1924)'



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APPENDIX IV CONSTITUTION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE AOG¹

After prayerful deliberation the Provisional Council elected by representatives of the Assemblies of God which stand for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost with signs following, and which held council at Sheffield on 23rd and 24th May, 1922, have agreed to recommend the following as a basis for inter-church fellowship and business.

It is not our aim to raise denominational barriers between brethren who have been made partakers of the Divine nature and have become members of the body of Christ, nor to set up an organisation having unscriptural jurisdiction over its members. Our purpose is to adhere to the Scriptures in every detail when considering arrangements for the closer co-operation of the various assemblies which have been privileged to experience the glorious coming upon of the Holy Ghost.

Our recommendations are: -

- I. That a Council be formed, known as “The General Council of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland.”
- II. That this Council be elected at a Convocation of delegates from the various assemblies in fellowship.
- III. That each assembly in fellowship be invited to send its Pastor and one other representative as delegates to the Annual Convocation, each assembly being expected to defray the expenses of its own delegates. Assemblies in fellowship which are unable to send delegates shall have equal voting power. Recognized Evangelists also to have equal voting power with delegated from assemblies.
- IV. That a Convention be held at the same time as the Annual Convocation of delegates.

¹ This Constitution was worded by E. C. Boulton and circulated on 23 May 1922, DGC, Boulton File.

V. That it is expected that each assembly in fellowship make a special offering in the assembly once every year towards the expenses of the General Council, and to help forward the work at home and aboard. The first offering to be made when the assembly comes into fellowship.

VI. That the General Council be empowered to exercise any needed discipline as required by Scripture over the recognized workers of the assemblies in fellowship, and to advise and assist all local assemblies.

VII. That in the case of local disputes the parties involved may mutually agree to ask a member of the General Council to come and judge the matter. Failing to agree on this the General Council to appoint one of their number to judge the matter, whose judgment, confirmed by the General Council, shall be final. The parties concerned to defray expenses. Each party to be permitted to invite elders of any surrounding assemblies that are in fellowship with the General Council to be present at the hearing.

A Statement of Fundamental Truths Approved by Assemblies of God in Fellowship with the General Council.

I. We believe that the Bible is the inspired Word of God.

II. We believe that the Godhead eternally exists in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that these three are one God.

III. We believe that all have sinned and come short of the glory of God.

IV. We believe that through the death of Christ all who believe are saved from the penalty and power of sin.

V. We believe that present latter day outpouring of the Holy Ghost, which is the promise of God to all believers, is accompanied by speaking in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.

VI. We believe that God is restoring all the gifts of the Holy Ghost to the church, which is a living organism, a living body composed of all true believers.

VII. We believe that God has given some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.

VIII. We believe that deliverance from sickness is provided for in the atonement, and is the privilege of all who believe.

IX. We believe in the personal and pre-millennial return of our Lord Jesus Christ to receive unto Himself the Church.

X. We believe in the eternal conscious bliss of all true believers in Christ, and also in the eternal conscious punishment of all Christ rejectors.

Ordinances.

I. We believe in the breaking of bread and drinking of wine, a memorial of our Lord's suffering and death, enjoined on all believers till He come.

II. We believe that all regenerate persons should be immersed in water, thereby giving a testimony to all that they have been identified with Christ in His death and resurrection.

(Signed) THOS. MYERSCOUGH (President).

E. C. BOULTON (Secretary).

JAS. TETCHNER (Horden).

A. CARTER (London).

E. W. MOSER (Southsea).

CHAS. FLOWER (Derby).

GEO. JEFFREYS (Belfast).

W. HENDERSON (Belfast).

T. MERCY (Crocckeyes).

GEO. VALE (Gorseinon).

**APPENDIX V. RESOLUTIONS APPROVED BY THE
GENERAL PRESBYTERY OF THE AOG¹**

(A) That this Meeting of Signatories to circular No. 1, whilst recognising the need of establishing [the] unity of Pentecostal (Spirit Baptized), Church of God, and Full Gospel meetings, resolve that we do not intend identifying ourselves as, or establishing ourselves into a sect, that is a human organisation, with centralised legislative power, that legislates or creates laws and usurps authority over Assemblies and has unscriptural jurisdiction over its members, and creates unscriptural lines of fellowship; neither do we intend depriving any Assembly of its scriptural rights and privileges.

(B) We do, however, recognise the need and recommend the adoption of scriptural methods and order for worship, unity, fellowship, work, and business for God, and of disapproving all un scriptural methods, doctrines, and conduct, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace, until we all come into the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto the measure of the Stature of the fulness of Christ, as recorded in Eph.4, 17-32.

(C) In order to establish closer co-operation and fellowship, it has been decided to hold a Conference, of the Leaders Pastors, and Elders who replied favourably to the first circular, at London.

¹ The highlighted parts were brought from the 'Preamble and Resolution of Constitution' of the AG, with minor alteration. Compare *Assemblies of God of Gt. Britain and Ireland Minutes* (Jan. to May 1924), 1-3; *Combined Minutes of the General Council of the AOG in the USA, Canada and Foreign Lands* (Hot Springs, Ark, 1914-1925), 4

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